JOURNAL
OF UKRAINIAN STUDIES

18
SUMMER 1985

ЖУРНАЛ
УКРАЇНОЗНАВЧИХ СТУДІЙ

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UKRAINIAN STUDIES AT MONASH UNIVERSITY — AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

Until recently Ukrainian has shared a fate similar to that of most Slavic languages in Australia: it has been denied the status of an autonomous university subject although it has been well represented as a "migrant" (or "ethnic") language since the late 1940s — the period when substantial numbers of Ukrainians began to arrive in Australia in the aftermath of the Second World War. By 1979 the total number of Ukrainians and their descendants in this country was approximately 33,300.[1] Yet only in the 1980s did Ukrainian become a subject for study at the university level.

To understand the story of Ukrainian in Australia's universities, it must be set against the background of the history of Slavic studies in this country. In its initial stage of development — in the late 1940s and early 1950s — Slavic studies in Australia were confined to one institution, the University of Melbourne, and to one language, Russian. In 1954 a second department of Russian was established at the Australian National University (A.N.U.) in Canberra. An important advance in Slavic studies came with the academic boom of the 1960s and early 1970s, when as many as half of the existing departments involved in this field were set up. In 1963 the first Chair of Russian in Australia, filled by Professor R.G.A. de Bray, was created at Monash University, and two years later the Monash Department of Russian was established. Departments of Russian were also set up at the University of Queensland in 1966 and at the University of New South Wales in 1967. The sixth, and last, Australian university to enter the

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[1] Eugene Seneta, "On the Number of Ukrainians in Australia in 1979," paper delivered at the Conference of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Australia, Sydney, 1-3 April 1983 (proceedings to be published). Note that the figure is approximate — "a reasonable approximation," according to Seneta. Of the total number of Ukrainians and their descendants in Australia in 1979, about 11,700 were living in Victoria (capital: Melbourne); 9,800, in New South Wales (capital: Sydney) and the Australian Capital Territory; 6,400, in South Australia; 2,750, in Queensland; 2,150, in Western Australia; and 500 in Tasmania.

Slavic field was the Macquarie University in Sydney, where a Slavonic section in the Department of Modern Languages was established in 1983.

While the period connected with the academic boom was significant in creating the basic departmental structure for Slavic studies in Australia, its impact on the development of Slavic languages other than Russian was only marginal. This situation changed considerably in the mid-1970s, both in the secondary schools and in higher education. In 1975 the Schools Examination Board in the State of Victoria (Melbourne) implemented the proposal suggested by Monash University to offer two Baltic and four Slavic languages — Ukrainian, Polish, Serbo-Croation and Czech — as subjects for the final school examination, the Higher School Certificate (H.S.C.) (Russian had long been available as a subject for this examination.) This represented a major advance for these languages and clearly met a pressing need for their inclusion in the high school curriculum. In the case of Ukrainian, about two hundred students have now had an opportunity to benefit from this arrangement.[2] Furthermore, the language has become an H.S.C. subject in other Australian states following similar curriculum reforms.

This acceptance of Ukrainian as an H.S.C. subject gave it the additional status of a subject for university entrance, since results in the H.S.C. examination are used to determine access to universities. Before 1975 Ukrainian was an unofficial part of the Victorian curriculum that was taught at Ukrainian-community Saturday schools. These schools have been very important in maintaining the language since the 1950s (the first was established in 1951 with an initial enrolment of thirty). At their peak in the early 1960s, they had an average of about 775 students a year. (In 1981 the figure was 482.)

At the university level also there were significant changes in the field of Slavic studies in this period. In 1975 Polish was offered for the first time at an Australian university — the A.N.U. in Canberra. And 1976 saw the introduction of the first Slavic language other than Russian to be developed into a degree sequence — of Serbo-Croatian, at Monash University.

Serious attempts were made to establish Ukrainian as a separate university subject, in 1975 and again in 1977, at Monash. But these were unsuccessful, even though a substantial collection of Ukrainian

[2] In 1975-83 there were 188 enrolments in Higher School Certificate Ukrainian in Victoria. The figures for Russian and Serbo-Croatian were 409 and 498.

books had already been created in the university library (such a collection is considered a necessary prerequisite for the introduction of any new subject). In the context of these attempts one should also mention the representations made by Professor J.B. Rudnyc'kyj of the University of Manitoba, who visited Monash in 1978. His visit, and those of Professor V. Janiw, President of the Ukrainian Free University in Munich, and Professor O. Pritsak, director of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, at about the same time all helped to further interest in Ukrainian. During this period there were some modest successes: the first extensive research project, concentrating on the West Slavic context of the Ukrainian vocabulary, was started at Monash in 1979, and the first two postgraduate students in Ukrainian studies in Australia commenced their work in 1979 and 1980, also at Monash. These developments were largely the result of the efforts of Professor G.J. Marvan, who had been appointed chairman of the Monash Department of Russian in 1973.

The present period began with two important and related events. In March 1982 the Association of Ukrainians in Victoria, an umbrella organization that co-ordinates the activities of some sixty different Ukrainian community groups in the state, presented Monash University with a detailed and well-argued submission. Prepared by Dr. M. Lawriwsky of La Trobe University, the association's adviser on education, it proposed to establish an independently funded lectureship in Ukrainian. Then in July the Monash Department of Russian was renamed the Department of Slavic Languages. Such a change clearly benefited the cause of Ukrainian, and in October the association's proposal was officially accepted by the university. This paved the way for the introduction of Ukrainian as a separate subject for the first time at an Australian university. Subsequently, in 1984, it was also introduced at Macquarie University in Sydney: Monash and Macquarie remain the only tertiary institutions in Australia offering Ukrainian.

At Monash courses in Ukrainian commenced in March 1983, soon after the appointment of the first lecturer, Dr. Marko Pavlyshyn. The department now provides a three-year degree sequence in Ukrainian, covering both language and literature, with two different streams (one for students who have already completed Higher School Certificate Ukrainian and one for those with little or no prior knowledge of the language), and supervises fourth-year Honours students and postgraduate students in Ukrainian studies. In February 1985 there were thirty students of Ukrainian at Monash. Twenty percent of them were of non-Ukrainian origin.

Ukrainian research in the Department of Slavic Languages has for some time focussed on linguistics, especially the grammar of

Modern Ukrainian. Some work is now being done in pre-Romantic, Romantic, and contemporary literature.

The university library is involved in a project to catalogue some of the 13,000 Ukrainian books and the large number of periodicals that have been collected in Melbourne by the bishop for Ukrainian Catholics in Australia and New Zealand, Ivan Prashko; the project will considerably expand the possibilities of Ukrainian scholarship in Australia. The bibliography and list of theses in progress that follows provides a guide to the nature of the interest in Ukrainian at Monash, as does the present collection of articles by scholars at the university.

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Marko Pavlyshyn

THE RHETORIC AND POLITICS OF KOTLIAREVSKY'S
ENEIDA

It serves our purpose to begin at some little distance from Kotliarevsky and his Ukrainian *Eneida* — in Austria, where in 1784 the first parts of Alois Blumauer's *Vergils Aeneis, travestirt* were published. Like Kotliarevsky's *Eneida*, Blumauer's burlesque epic belongs to a not inconsiderable tradition of classicist travesties of Virgil's *Aeneid*, which includes works by Giovanni Battista Lalli (1633), Paul Scarron (1648-52), John Cotton (1664), Johann Benjamin Michaelis (1780), and Nikolai Osipov (1791-99). If the Latin original had been an apologia for the emperor Augustus and the imperial aspirations of Rome,[1] then Blumauer's travesty was a paeon to the reformism of Joseph II. The work takes a secularist, rationalist, anticlerical stand against Austrian culture, in which the author finds too much religion and not enough enlightenment.[2] Aeneas is parodically recreated as a "pious hero," whose destiny it is to establish the Vatican — a prospect, needless to say, that Blumauer presents anything but favorably.

Blumauer did not complete his *Aeneis*; the last two books were added in 1794 by a writer who identifies himself to the reader only as "Professor Schaber." They are inspired by a wholly new outlook. The Josephinian thaw had ended, the revolutionary wars had begun, and Austria was under military threat. In keeping with the times, Schaber reallegorized the Trojans as rapacious French Revolutionary troops and imparted to Latium the pathos of an invaded patria.

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[1] So it was perceived in the eighteenth century. See, for example, articles on Virgil in Jacob Christoff Iselin, *Neu-vermehrtes Historisch und Geographisches Allgemeines Lexicon* (Basel, 1727), 4:769, or in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 3rd ed., (Edinburgh, 1797), 18:657-58.

[2] Alois Blumauer, *Sämmtliche Werke und Handschriftlicher Nachlass* in 4 parts and 2 vols. (Vienna, 1884), parts 3 and 4. Leslie Bodi, *Tauwetter in Wien. Zur Prosa der Österreichischen Aufklärung 1781-1795* (Frankfurt/M., 1977) provides an outstanding study of literature, politics, and ideology in the Josephinian period. See also Bärbel Becker-Cantarino, *Aloys Blumauer and the Literature of Austrian Enlightenment* (Bern and Frankfurt am Main, 1973).

However opposite the political and cultural standpoints of Blumauer and Schaber might be, their attitudes toward the genre of travesty are identical. Both use travesty as a vehicle for direct ideological or political satire, and both encourage the reader to take sides — Blumauer for reason and against obscurantism, Schaber for the fatherland and against the revolution. Especially in Schaber's two books, the Trojan invaders and the Latin invadees stand allegorically, and quite unambiguously, for the military and philosophical opponents in Europe on the eve of Napoleon.

Kotliarevsky's *Eneida* abstains from establishing such transparently tendentious parallels. It does not divide the world into two antagonistic camps and proclaim its solidarity with one of them. For a moment such abstinence might even appear extraordinary. Had the Latiums of the Hetman state and the Zaporozhian Sich not fallen victim within living memory to the expansionary "destiny" of the Third Rome? But, of course, such an overtly political use of Virgil's material would not have been possible given the historical context. Kotliarevsky's *Eneida* could not have passed through the stages of its publication between 1798 and 1842 unhampered by censorship had the author adopted such a line. Indeed, it is suggested by some critics that Kotliarevsky does not have, or at least does not express, any conscious or deliberate design that might be regarded as "oppositional" to the process of imperialism.[3]

It would be wrong to go quite so far as this. There is in *Eneida*, as we shall argue later, good internal evidence to suggest that Kotliarevsky does have a worked-out political conception, which finds expression in his deliberate, elaborate, and at times ironic avoidance of the empire loyalism displayed by many members of his class (that is, descendants of the Cossack *starshyna*. As Ievhen Sverstiuk has said in the context of some ambiguous passages, which can (but need not) sustain an antiregime interpretation, "if all this was written subconsciously, then Kotliarevsky's subconscious was disloyal."[4]

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[3] Zina Genyk-Berezovská, "Travestie Ivana Kotliarevs'kého," *Slavia*, 38 (1969): 373-79, and M[ykhailo] T[rochymovych] Iatsenko, *Na rubezhi literaturnykh epokh: "Eneida" Kotliarevskoho i khudozhnii prohres v ukrainskii literaturi* (Kiev, 1977), 115. Iatsenko's study is methodologically sophisticated, provides new insights into *Eneida*, and quietly dismantles numerous literary-critical myths surrounding the work. Most of his theses on questions related to ethno-political identity in *Eneida*, however, require further discussion.

[4] Ievhen Sverstiuk, "Ivan Kotliarevsky smiietsia," in his *Vybrane*, ed. Ivan Koshelivets ([Munich], 1979), 117-49, here 137.

It should be noted that the tradition of *Aeneid* travesties either takes sides with the prevailing political mood or avoids challenging it directly. Thus Blumauer's reformism is the mouthpiece of a reformist emperor, while Schaber's patriotic spirit reflects the public opinion, but also the government policies, of a more conservative period. Scarron's *Le Virgile travesti* (1648-54) lampoons the epical tradition by transposing the heroic action into a delicate, refined, playful, and courtly modality, in the course of which the life of the Versailles court is ironically presented, but without direct critical allusion to the system of absolutism and the reign of the Sun King. The *Aeneid*s have a tradition of hunting with the hounds, or at least of not appearing overtly to do otherwise. In this latter respect Kotliarevsky is no exception.

And yet, Kotliarevsky's *Eneida* is profoundly political — far more so than its aforementioned generic predecessors. Instead of declaring a political platform, *Eneida* helps the Ukrainian reader of the late 18th and early 19th century toward new avenues of self-interpretation. It assists in the generation of a new myth, if by "myths" we mean stories or explanations, particularly concerning the origins of things, which a given society holds to be true. This is not a new insight. Sverstiuk has drawn attention to the novelty of the ethos and ethnos in *Eneida*, noting in particular the difference between the outlook implicit in *Eneida* and the older view, typified by *Istoriia Rusov*, which saw no contradiction between pride in the cossack past and loyalty to the tsar and the empire.[5] And yet, there is still no discussion in the scholarship of those strategies in the text of *Eneida* that act upon the contemporary Ukrainian reader so as to promote a transformation of his old habits of thought and perception. This paper proposes to address this task, pausing first only to outline the methodological assumptions underlying this procedure.

Processes of literary innovation may usefully be examined with the aid of a rhetorical model of literature. According to this model, the readers of a book at a given period form a socially and culturally definable "audience," which possesses certain information, attitudes, and habits of thought and feeling. (Hans Robert Jauss has called this a "horizon of expectations."[6]) The literary work in our rhetorical model addresses the audience with certain arguments, whose purpose is

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[5] Ibid., 121-24. A brief but lucid exposition of the public opinion of cossack-derived aristocrats concerning their cossack past is to be found in Ivan L. Rudnytsky's "Pereiaslav: History and Myth," an introduction to John Basarab, *Pereiaslav 1654: A Historiographical Study* (Edmonton, 1982), xi-xxii, here xvi-xvii.

either to confirm or to alter the audience's horizon of expectations. An "argument" in this context is, of course, not an encoded abstract proposition, but the aesthetic strategy that changes perceptions and emotional patterns. To focus on the argumentative aspect of a literary work, therefore, means to concern oneself with the manner in which that work participates in the process of historical change.

From Aristotle onward, the discipline of rhetoric has recognized certain standard forms for the persuasive presentation of new arguments. It is one of the axioms of rhetorical discourse that an audience tends to regard its customary beliefs as truths. A recognized means of persuasion, therefore, is the presentation of a new argument as something that is already familiar, and therefore acceptable, to the audience. Such an argument possesses the rhetorical virtue implied in the term *aptum*: appropriateness.[7]

The exploitation of *aptum* is Kotliarevsky's particular strength. We may well examine *Eneida* in terms of the ways in which it adopts and amends prevailing attitudes. Let us first consider what *Eneida* does to existing ideas of Ukrainian cossackdom. The positive evaluation of the cossack past is a not unimportant aspect of the consciousness of the culturally leading social group at the end of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth. We are reasonably supplied with information about the social profile of this elite. Many of its members were landowning nobles, descendants of the Left-Bank cossack officers;[8] declining income from land was in the process of forcing this group into state-service occupations, both military and civilian. Clusters of educated Ukrainians of this background were forming in administrative centers, such as St. Petersburg; early in the nineteenth century Kharkiv University became a focal point for them.[9] From such documents as *Istoriia Rusov* we know that the no

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[6] H.R. Jauss, *Literaturgeschichte als Provokation der Literatur-wissenschaft*, 2nd ed. (Konstanz, 1969), 31.

[7] The notion that rhetorical truth is that which is generally accepted finds expression in Aristotle's *Topica* (100b) and *Rhetorica* (1395a). See also Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 5:x, 12. On *aptum* see Heinrich Lausberg, *Elemente der literarischen Rhetorik*, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1963), 154.

[8] Zenon Kohut, "Problems in Studying the Post-Khmelnytsky Ukrainian Elite (1650s to 1830s)," in *Rethinking Ukrainian History*, ed. Ivan L. Rudnytsky (Edmonton, 1981), 103-119, esp. 108-112, provides a review of the relevant scholarship.

[9] Pavlo Fylypovych, "Sotsiialne oblychchia ukrainskoho chytacha 30-40 rr. XIX viku," in his *Literatura*, ed. Hryhorii Kostiuk (New York and Melbourne, 1971), 110-80; Iurii Lavrinenko, *Vasyl Karazyn: Arkhitekt vidrodzhennia* (Munich, 1975), 78-93.

longer existent Cossack state had meaning for this group as a guarantor of its old rights and privileges. It was in their social interest to regard the cossack state as a polity in which the cossacks had given their loyalty to the Russian tsar in exchange for relative autonomy on their own territory.[10]

For this elite group, the Hetman state and the Zaporozhian Sich are two distinct and even opposite ideas. The Hetman state stands for order, hierarchy, legality, and faithful service and is regarded as an unquestionably good thing. The Sich is not. *Istoriia Rusov*, like the earlier *Litopys Samovydtsia*, sees the Zaporozhian cossacks as unreliable, disloyal to Muscovy, anarchic, given to reflecting the claims of the lower orders of Ukrainian society, and therefore a threat to the "*znachni liudy*" of the Hetman state.[11] The *Istoriia's* assessment of the Zaporozhian otaman Sirko is an extreme, but nevertheless revealing illustration of this attitude: "Sirko was a remarkable man and of rare qualities as far as courage, discrimination, and military successes were concerned . . . and yet he was also a Zaporozhian, and therefore a species of clown or madman."[12] Furthermore, various aspects of the eccentric Zaporozhian lifestyle had long been regarded with a measure of disapproval. The fabulous capacity of the Zaporozhians for alcohol, their refusal to admit women to the Sich, and the fact that their economy apparently did not require them to engage in productive labour had been noted as early as in Beauplan's 17th-century *Description of Ukraine*.[13] This conception served as a basis for the condemnation (on religious, moral, and economic grounds) of the Zaporozhians in the late 18th-century historical journalism of such exponents of Russian aristocratic ideology as Myshetsky, Rigelman, Zarulsky, and Miller, and in the manifesto of Catherine II, which gave legal force to the destruction of the Sich in 1775.[14]

In a word, in the upper echelons of society the Zaporozhians were getting a bad press. (The rather different function of the Zaporozhian in such non-elite literary forms as the *duma*, the *vertep*, and the folksong must remain outside the scope of this paper.)

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[10] Rudnytsky, "Pereiaslav," xvi.

[11] *Istoriia Rusiv*, ed. with an intro. by Oleksander Ohloblyn (New York, 1956), 60, 214, 294.

[12] Ibid., 235.

[13] [Guillaume Le Vasseur de] Beauplan, *A Description of Ukraine* [translation] [London, 17??], 570, 593, 595, 597.

[14] Natalia Polonska-Vasylenko, "Manifest 3 serpnia roku 1775 v svitli tohochasnykh idei," in her *Zaporizhzhia XVIII stolittia ta ioho spadshchyna* (Munich, 1965), 1:138-85.

Kotliarevsky's *Eneida* not only rehabilitates the idea of the Zaporozhians; it fuses their image with the reader's existing positive notion of the cossack state and amalgamates both with a new vision of the non-cossack remainder of Ukrainian society.

The method of achieving this blend is not uniform throughout *Eneida*; the last half (parts IV to VI) sets about it with apparently more deliberate purpose than the original three parts. But the rehabilitation of the Zaporozhians takes place, whether as a conscious strategy or not, at the level of language and style throughout the whole of *Eneida*, beginning with the very earliest parts of the work. The first fourteen lines of the first part establish the social and historical identity of the group into which Virgil's Trojans have been transposed according to the laws of travesty. The beginning of *Eneida* is universally familiar, but it repays re-examination.

> Enei buv parubok motornyi
> I khlopets khot kudy kozak,
> Udavs na vseie zle provornyi,
> Zavziatishyi od vsikh burlak.
> No hreky, iak spalyvshy Troiu,
> Zrobyly z nei skyrtu hnoiu,
> Vin, vziavshy torbu, tiahu dav;
> Zabravshy deiakykh troiantsiv,
> Osmalenykh, iak hyria, lantsiv,
> P'iatamy z Troi nakyvav.
>
> Vin, shvydko porobyvshy chovny,
> Na synie more pospuskav,
> Troiantsiv nasadyvshy povni,
> I kudy ochi pochukhrav.[15]

(Enei was a nimble fellow / And no mean cossack of a lad; / He was adroit in all that was dubious / And surpassed every vagabond in courage. / But when the Greeks, having put fire to Troy, / Turned her into a dungheap, / He got his knapsack and made himself scarce; / Taking with him a few Trojans — / Beggars singed as bald as a dumbbell — / He showed Troy his heels.

He hastily built a few ships and, / Filling them full of Trojans, / Launched them upon the blue sea / And made off helter-skelter wherever chance determined.)

Enei, first and foremost, is a *kozak*, and the fact that the original plot demands that the Trojans build ships and embark on a sea voyage permits the Ukrainian reader to identify the Trojans as seagoing Cossacks — ergo, Zaporozhians. Simultaneously, Kotliarevsky

commences mixing the negative attributes of the received derogatory image of the Zaporozhians with selected favorable attributes. Enei is nimble ("motornyi") and adroit ("provornyi") — but only toward dubious ends ("na vseie zle"). He is brave ("zavziatyi"), but in being so he is compared with a vagabond ("zavziatyi od vsikh burlak"). In this same first section, Iunona (Juno) refers to Enei as a "cheat, a reckless fellow and a bandit" ("sutsiha, / Palyvoda i horloriz," 41); the Trojans are called, both by other characters and in the author's own discourse, beggars ("lantsi," 39), ragamuffins ("holodrabtsi," 45, and "holtipaky," 46), destitute Trojans ("troianstvo hole," 45), migrant tramps ("vykhodtsi-burlaky," 46), and a band of ruffians ("vataha rozbyshak," 46).

The image that is very rapidly accumulated out of such names is that of the penniless, low-ranking Zaporozhian — the "chern", as *Litopys Samovydtsia* would have classified him. Further, the actions that these sansculotte Trojans are depicted as performing are often, as befits a travesty, by no means noble. Enei's flight from Troy is portrayed as ignominious: "piatamy z Troi nakyvav," 39); during Aeolus's storm he is taken by seasickness ("Eneia za zhyvit bere," 42). In the face of Jupiter's anger his demeanor is not courageous ("pidzhav khvist, mov sobaka," 55). The Trojans eat and drink to excess (for the first of many times during the landing after this storm, 43), they plead their case before Dydona (Dido) in humble and sycophantic tones, and finally they flee from Carthage with their leader. This is anti-heroic action, and yet the vitality of Kotliarevsky's style (active verbs, colloquial phrases, burlesque comparisons of the elevated with the earthy) communicates itself to the subject matter; the Zaporozhians-as-Trojans become an irresistible, infinitely sympathetic collective hero, toward whom the reader is guided to feel a combination of envy and admiration. Those qualities that, in the received image of the Zaporozhians, are negative (anarchic tendencies, pursuit of particularist objectives, debauched lifestyle, irresponsibility, and lack of foresight) are reinterpreted as the virtues of individualism, love of freedom, virility, courage, and optimism.[16] This becomes evident, for example, in Kotliarevsky's depiction of the Trojans' arrival in Cumae.

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[16] Iatsenko observes this dualism accurately, pointing out that as a result what the reader sees are "not critical references to certain negative features, but a holistic perspective upon the world in a condition of dynamic equilibrium and dialectical contradiction" (61). The simultaneously heroic and burlesque presentation of Enei and the Trojans, however, he regards merely as a feature derived from the spirit of folk humor, and disputes the validity of "equating the images of

> Rozhardiiash nastav Troiantsiam;
> Op'iat zabuly horiuvat;
> Buvaie shchastia skriz pohantsiam,
> A dobryi musyt propadat.
> I tut vony ne shanovalys,
> A zaraz vsi i potaskalys,
> Choho khotilosia shukat:
> Iakomu medu ta horilky,
> Iakomu—molodytsi, divky,
> Oskomu shchob z zubiv zihnat. (95)

(The Trojans set about having a riot of a time, / And forgot all their past tribulations. / It's the ruffian who has all the breaks, / While the righteous are doomed to perish. / And here none held himself in restraint; / Each took himself off / To seek out whatever took his fancy: / Mead or spirits, / Or women and girls, / To dispel the stale taste in his mouth.)

It is time to consider how this Zaporozhian ethos is united with the idea of the Hetman state. This is a feature especially of the second half of the work. We mentioned earlier that Kotliarevsky refuses to allegorize the conflict between the Trojans and the Latins. If we analyse the depiction of all parties to the war, we discover that all carry Ukrainian features. This fact has been obscured by the illustrators of certain Soviet editions, who have drawn the Latins in the style reserved in the USSR for caricaturing the German invaders of the Second World War. The various elements of this Ukrainian universe Kotliarevsky brings together by exploiting the possibilities of simile. In parts IV to VI the Trojans, Latins, and Rutulians are all described by means of comparison with different Ukrainian military formations; the historically disparate is thus brought notionally and associatively together.

Let us examine the three hosts in turn. Latinus' army is taken to that of the old Hetman state:

Enei (or, say, Nyz and Evriial) with the Zaporozhian cossack" (61) on the grounds that "the typology of these images is not systematically carried through and does not give grounds for understanding *Eneida* as a continuous allegory of the wanderings of the Zaporozhian cossacks after the destruction of the Sich." Iatsenko is right in denying the presence of a consistent allegory, but wrong in suggesting that *Eneida* does not sufficiently label Enei's company as Zaporozhians for the reader. The illustrators of *Eneida* are evidence of the universality of the assumption that the Trojans are to be visualized as a literary transformation of the Zaporozhians. Iatsenko does not acknowledge that part of the aesthetic strategy of *Eneida* is directed toward modifying the prevailing elite view of the Zaporozhians; he thereby turns a blind eye on an important mythogenic structure of considerable political consequence.

> Tak vichnoi pam'iaty buvalo
> U nas v Hetmanshchyni kolys, . . .
> Tak slavnii polky kozatski
> Lubenskyi, Hadiatskyi, Poltavskyi
> V shapkakh, bulo, iak mak, tsvitut. (176)

(Thus it had once been since time immemorial / In our Hetman state, . . . / Thus the gallant cossack regiments of Lubni, Hadiache, and Poltava / In their caps had bloomed like fields of poppies.)

Allied to these Latin regiments is an irregular army that is compared to the Zaporozhian Host:

> Bulo tut viisko volontyri,
> To vsiakykh iurbytsia liudei,
> Mov zaporozhtsi-chupryndyri. . . (177)

(There was a volunteer force here as well — / It was a collection of all sorts, / Like the Zaporozhians with their long forelocks. . .).

The army of Turn (Turnus) also consists of a historically meaningful combination. One of its leaders, Mezentii, is likened to the colonel of the Lubni regiment hastening to the battle of Poltava (184). Tsekul's army is compared to that of the hetmans Sahaidachny and Doroshenko (185). So far, the similes are drawn from the history of "official" cossackdom, which, as has been argued above, carries positive associations for the reading elite. But Turn and Mezentii are united in purpose with Mezap, who deals with his enemies as "Zhelizniak" did with the Poles. The alignment of cossack hetmans and colonels with Maksym Zalizniak, one of the leaders of the Right-Bank popular rebellion known as the Koliivshchyna (1768), is an innovation of considerable importance, as it brings together the ideas of cossackdom and spontaneous peasant opposition to social repression.

In the descriptions of military events the Trojans continue to be identified with Ukrainian cossackdom, although Kotliarevsky at this stage avoids an all-too-exclusive equation with the Zaporozhians, as distinct from other cossacks. On the contrary, cossackdom even acquires the quality of ethnic universality: Evriial and Nyz are scions of a Muslim culture traditionally regarded as inimical — and yet the narrator classifies them as faithful cossacks ("virni kozaky" 215), and they die courageously as "kozarliuhy" (225).

In brief, the military descriptions in the later parts of *Eneida* create a notional alignment between the spheres of Zaporizhzhia and the Hetman state, and it is made clear that the idea of popular revolt (Haidamachchyna) is not excluded. The Hetman state, the Zaporozhian

Sich, and the spontaneous peasant uprising against social oppression are seen as united by a common purpose. The dominant spirit of the new combination is that of the (favorably revalued) Zaporozhians: courage, individualism, vitality. One element of the old conception of cossackdom is missing: the emphasis on the cossacks' separateness as a social estate distinct from the rest of society, and the attendant focus upon rights and privileges granted by the favor of a monarch. Thus, in *Eneida* Kotliarevsky synthesizes a Ukrainian Golden Age, in which the ideas of freedom and egalitarianism are associated with the cossack past. It is this Golden Age that is later invoked in Shevchenko's poetry as the once and future utopia.[17]

Parallel to creating a new image of a cossack Golden Age, *Eneida* presents its reader with a very new version of the loyalty syndrome, which, as we have noted, is characteristic of many 18th-century Ukrainian texts. It should be stated at the outset that *Eneida* itself still contains entirely traditional loyalist passages. The reference, cited above, to the colonel of the Lubni regiment at the Battle of Poltava leaves no doubt that the narrator's voice disapproves of the Swedes — "propaly shvedy tut, prochvary" (189) — and, by implication, of their ally Mazepa and the entire separatist enterprise.

However, on several occasions, apparently loyalist declarations are in fact ambiguous. For example, the Trojans, en route to Cumae, pass the time in singing:

> Pro *Sahaidachnoho* spivaly,
> Lybon, spivaly i pro *Sich,*
> Iak v pikinery nabyraly,
> Iak mandrovav kozak vsiu nich;
> Poltavsku slavyly Shvedchynu, . . . (94)

(They sang of Sahaidachny, / Sometimes they sang about the Sich, / About recruitment into the Pikinery, / About the cossack who walked all night; / They sang the praise of the Swedish battle at Poltava. . .)

Questions arise immediately: exactly what did these Trojans have to say in their songs about the recruitment of cossacks from the

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[17] With the difference that Shevchenko combines the mythical treatment of cossack equality and freedom with criticism of "official" cossackdom as manifested in the leaders and sociopolitical structures of the Hetman state. See George G. Grabowicz, *The Poet as Mythmaker: A Study of Symbolic Meaning in Taras Ševčenko* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 106-20, and Marko Pavlyshyn, "'Lichu v nevoli dni i nochi' Tarasa Shevchenka: Retorychni aspekty literaturnoho tvoru," *Suchasnist*, 1984, no. 3, 55-66, here 59-61.

abolished Zaporozhian Host into regiments of Pikinery (border guards)? And in praising the Swedish battle, which *side* did they praise — that of the victorious Peter I, on which the majority of the Hetman state's cossacks fought, or that of Charles XII, Mazepa, and the Zaporozhians? When Kotliarevsky declares, in relation to the exploits of Evriial and Nyz, "Liubov k otchyzni de heroit, / Tam syla vrazha ne ustoit" (227) (Where love for fatherland heroically is felt / There enemy might will not prevail), it is left to the reader to wonder which *patria* Kotliarevsky had in mind.

The text leaves these questions open — whether deliberately or not is a matter of speculation. One might, however, evaluate this openness in the context of Kotliarevsky's letter of 1821 to Gniedych, in which there is a rejoinder to what must have been his correspondent's comments about sections of the manuscript of *Eneida*:

> Ia sam chuvstvuiu, chto est mnogo neskromnosti ili volnosti v "Eneide"; no semu prichinoiu S.-Peterburgskaia tsenzura, ne uder-zhavshaia menia na pervykh porakh i propustivshaia napechatat v 4-kh chastiakh dovolno oshchutitelneishuiu sol; vprochem, net, kazhetsia, nichego otkrovennogo, a predstavliaetsia dogadke i tolkam, chto uzhe ne moia beda. [18]

> (I am myself aware that I have been immodest and have taken liberties in *Eneida*; but the fault lies with the St. Petersburg censors, who did not restrain me at the early stages and allowed the publication of the [first] four parts with a rather perceptible sting in them; however, nothing is overt, and all is left to speculation and interpretation, and that's not my business.)

Even here it is not quite clear what Kotliarevsky means. Does he have in mind only the "immodesties" and "liberties" of sexual allusion, of which *Eneida* has many? Or does he also mean the "indelicacy" of his political allusions? Whichever is the case, Kotliarevsky's letter to Gniedych highlights *Eneida*'s capacity for making the reader think forbidden thoughts.

There is, moreover, a famous passage in Part III of *Eneida* that goes beyond the limits of ambiguity and into the domain of the provocative statement:

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[18] Kotliarevsky, 2:134, letter dated 27 December 1821.

> Hrebtsi i vesla polozhyly
> Ta, sydia, liulechky kuryly
> I kurhykaly pisenok:
> Kozatskykh, harnykh zaporozkykh,
> A iaki znaly, to moskovskykh
> Vyhadovaly brydenok. (93)

(The rowers even put down their oars / And, resting, smoked pipes / And warbled songs: / Cossack ones, beautiful Ukrainian ones; / And those who knew how / Invented unpleasant Muscovite ones.)

The passage is an interesting piece of ethnocultural argumentation. The narrative voice adopts a standpoint from which the songs of the cossacks and Zaporozhians are beautiful, while the "moskovski brydenky" belong to the realm of the aesthetically unsympathetic. A cultural wedge, therefore, is thrust between cossack and Muscovite. Nor is there any compensatory invocation of the concepts of cossack-Muscovite *iedynokrovnist* and *iedynovirstvo* (membership of one blood and one faith), on which *Istoriia Rusov* had all been constructed.

We have spent some time in outlining the strategies by which *Eneida* amends certain political components of its reader's horizon of expectations. Some observations need to be made concerning the *social* argumentation of Kotliarevsky' work. As is normal in traditional travesty, Kotliarevsky substitutes new social contents into the plot framework supplied by Virgil. It is a cliché of Kotliarevsky criticism that the substance of the *Eneida* — the ethnographic details and the vocabulary necessary to name them — comes from the Ukrainian *narod*, by which is generally meant "common people": Biletsky goes so far as to say "working people."[19] This is, of course, an oversimplification. The ethnographic descriptions refer not only to the life and customs of "the people," but to the material culture of the cossack *starshyna*.

Much of the apparel that Kotliarevsky mentions, for example, relates to the upper stratum of cossack society, not to the common cossacks or to the peasants. In Part 1, mention is made of such luxury items as a brocade cap ("ochipok hrezetovyi," 43), a caftan with glossy galloons ("kuntush z usamy liustrovyi," 43), a fur-edged velvet hat in the form of a boat ("karablyk barkhatovyi," 50). All of these are identified in the annotations to the 1969 edition as belonging to the wardrobe of the upper classes.[20] And yet, the presentation of these

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[19] Oleksandr Biletsky, "Eneida I.P. Kotliarevskogo" (1961) in his *Zibrannia prats*, 5 vols. (Kiev, 1965), 2:111-26, here 117.

[20] Kotliarevsky, 1:305, 307.

items is not differentiated stylistically from the presentation of buckwheat gruel and millet soup ("lemishka i kulish," 43), buckwheat gruel, barley in hempseed oil, barley with sweet kvas, and boiled sweet-sour dough ("lemishka, zubtsi, putria, kvasha," 48), and schnapps made from honey and fruit ("varenukha," 49)[21] — all of which, according to the annotations, belong to the *narod*.

It is important that Kotliarevsky does not mark these class-specific objects differently; he does not, for example, place the luxury set in a satirical context. If Kotliarevsky presents us with the picture of a *narod*, then it is a *narod* that he is not interested in differentiating into social classes. The customs, stories, elements of cuisine, and material culture of the peasant household are named with the same gusto as the garb, cuisine, and habits of the *starshyna*. A Soviet critic has asserted that the gods are satirical representations of the mighty ones of this world — he specifies "autocrats and...rulers of departments and committees." They are allegedly the adversaries of the plebian Trojans-as-cossacks.[22] Nothing could be further from the truth. It is in fact often difficult to attach class labels to the characters. Female characters display the dress patterns of the *starshyna*, but their values and manners are of a more earthy variety. Thus Lavinia, for instance, is dressed in a German fourreau ("nimetske furkaltse," 57) — her mother wears an equally exotic damask cloak ("iedamashkovyi shushon," 157) — and yet her father describes her to Enei, her potential suitor, as possessed of thoroughly non-aristocratic, labour-defined virtues: she is good at housekeeping, spinning, and sewing ("khaziaika dobra, priakha, shvachka," 160). The males, on the other hand, be they gods or commoners, are more plebeian in all respects. Zeus is discovered by Venus in Part I drinking *syvukha* (incompletely distilled spirits) and supping on herring (44); Neptune apparently spends his time in the space behind the stove (in the *zapichok*) and smooths the sea with a broom (42–43).

In brief, one would be hard to identify the *narodnist* of *Eneida* with a particular social stratum. Kotliarevsky is concerned to present elements of the lifestyle of various social groups as part of a pervasive atmosphere of vitality, variety, leisure and prosperity, repleteness, and cultural wealth. The world of ethnographic detail is an attractive, happy, carefree world, whose representation is designed to promote within the reader a reaction of unmingled enjoyment.[23]

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[21] Ibid., 305, 306.

[22] Ie[vhen] Shablovsky, "Kotliarevsky — koryfei ukrainskoi literatury," *Duklia*, 1969, no. 5, 50-54, here 52.

The carnival universe of feasts, receptions, wakes, exchanges of gifts, games, and dances with which *Eneida* confronts the reader is not, of course, a realistic representation of the life of the Ukrainian *narod* of 1798. Except in Part III, there is no reference to serfdom and its attendant miseries, which had been made universal in recent memory — in 1783. The *narod* of the *Eneida* is an idyllic and heroic postulate — a mythical creation whose function is not to *inform* the educated reader about objective conditions on his own estate or beyond the town limits, but to invite him to *identify* with a social group to which he does not belong. This invitation is important. The Ukrainian elite's identity as an aristocratic group had been weakened and overlaid by class identities common to the whole empire; identification with the literary image of a folk culture offers a new possibility of self-definition. The reader is invited to define himself as a member of a community that transcends class boundaries and is united by custom and historical tradition. Such a community, which one might call a nation, is the implied objective of the argument inherent in *Eneida*. The ethnographic myth offered there lived on in the works of Kvitka-Osnovianenko; stripped of its idyllic component, it continued to help orientate the Ukrainian intelligentsia well into the 19th century.[24]

It is useful to summarize the observations made hitherto in terms of our rhetorical model for literature. *Eneida* addresses itself to a reader who, in the transition from landowner to public servant, is in the process of becoming part of an empire-wide service elite; insofar as he is sensitive to his cossack heritage, he conceives of it as the source of his social privilege. *Eneida*'s persuasive strategy is to reform the reader's residual and historically irrelevant sense of identity with a defunct military caste into a sense of identity with a living nation.

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[23] Orest Zilynsky, in his excellent essay "Radist svitloho rozumu: Pro Ivana Kotliarevskoho," *Duklia*, 1969, no. 6, 56-62, detects in the prosperity and comfort of the cultural world depicted in *Eneida* a critical element: it reflects "the tragedy of impetuosity and liberty that degenerates into satiation without finding a truly elevated ideal goal" (62). This is surely an over-interpretation. *Eneida* provides no satirical mechanism for debunking the cossack and peasant worlds; nor would such an unmasking be commensurate with the strategies of myth construction that we have been discussing.

[24] Iatsenko represents this myth as a mistake of false consciousness, a construction upon "the illusory idea" that social harmony can be established, in part, on the basis of "the 'shared national' interests of rich and poor" (130). Kotliarevsky's nonantagonistic picture of society is interpreted by Iatsenko as an expression of the ideology of existing elite-class interests. Soviet etiquette, no doubt, prevents him from remarking that this myth was historically productive and inspired much of what is now proscribed as bourgeois nationalism.

This nation is given a *present* through an idealized image of the ethnographic substance of peasant and cossack life; it receives a *past* through a rearrangement of various strands of Ukrainian history. The horizon of expectations is addressed, expanded, and transformed.

We have still to address ourselves, if briefly, to the most powerful argument advanced by *Eneida*: the Ukrainian language and its humorous exploitation. As, during the 18th century, Ukraine declined to provincial status within the Russian Empire, old cultural institutions, including the old 'high' language — Church Slavonic with Ukrainian elements — lost their function and petered out. Vernacular Ukrainian became a language of little social or cultural status and was spoken mainly by the lower orders of society. Other classes used it in informal situations; in writing it appeared only in comic contexts, because, given the low *social* status of the language, everything written in Ukrainian could not but be perceived by the educated reader as homespun, folksy, and unrefined.[25]

Rhetorically speaking, Kotliarevsky's choice of Ukrainian for a major literary work, together with his choice of genre and model, had argumentative force. Anchored to a familiar ancient classic, *Eneida* ipso facto took its place in a European tradition of literature. The reader knew that for a travesty classicist poetics prescribe "low" language, style, and subject matter; in a travesty one could use the socially disadvantaged Ukrainian language and write about folk customs and lifestyles without abandoning the coordinates of classicist culture.

Eneida thus made a virtue of necessity: the status of the language being what it was, Kotliarevsky fully exploited what were then its possibilities and created a Ukrainian-language tour de force of comic, low-style poetry. His poetry and linguistic competence established the utility of vernacular Ukrainian as a literary language; his comic beginning challenged successors to come up with a literature covering a broader intellectual and emotional scale.

That this argument was persuasive is evidenced less by the flood of epigonal imitators than by the recurrent complaint, uttered by Hulak-Artemovsky, and later Shevchenko and Kulish,[26] that *Eneida* is

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[25] For a brief but illuminating description of the language situation, see George Y. Shevelov, "Evolution of the Ukrainian Literary Language," in *Rethinking Ukrainian History*, 216-31, here 222-24.

[26] See the quotation from Petro Hulak-Artemovsky in George G. Grabowicz, *Toward a History of Ukrainian Literature* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), 53; Taras Shevchenko, *Povne zibrannia tvoriv*, 6 vols., (Kiev, 1964), 6:314; and Panteleimon Kulish, "Kotliarevsky," *Osnova*, 1 (1861), January, 235-62.

not enough, that Kotliarevsky has insufficient substance and serious-ness. By 1861, when Panteleimon Kulish wrote his famous criticism of Kotliarevsky in *Osnova*, Ukrainian literature had come a long way. It was no longer obvious that in *Eneida* Kotliarevsky had achieved the maximum of what was possible, given the horizon of expectations of his audience. He had introduced a nonliterary language into literature by utilizing the only genre that could have served his purpose; and his *Eneida*, for all its surface levity, had been through and through an argument for a modern, relevant national consciousness — an argument the more powerful for not being immediately identifiable as such.

Slobodanka Vladiv

LESIA UKRAINKA'S *LISOVA PISNIA* AS A VARIANT OF THE *LIEBESTOD* MOTIF

While Lesia Ukrainka's literary affinity with Neo-Romantic European drama is recognized in general terms in current Ukrainian scholar-ship,[1] no detailed examination of the structure of her major play, *Lisova pisnia*, in the context of Modernist aesthetics has been undertaken to date. Yet it is precisely through its structure that this drama reveals unmistakable "signs" of the time in which it was engendered and which, in turn, it helped to formulate.

The key to the structure of this *drama-feieriia* (fairy drama) in three acts, with incidental music based on Volynian folksongs, is in the motivation of character. The character motivation, in turn, pivots on the plot motif of love-death or *Liebestod*. And it is through this motif that the play is most directly identifiable as part of the turn-of-the-century Neo-Romantic paradigm.

One of the most powerful influences on the conceptual roots of Modernism was the philosophical work of Arthur Schopenhauer. Schopenhauer's treatise on the will as the prime mover of all phenomena,[2] his ideas on the relationship of the will to the intellect,

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[1] See, for example, Walter Smyrniw, "Man and Superman in Gerhart Hauptmann's *Die versunkene Glocke* and Lesia Ukrainka's *Lisova pisnia*," *Germano-Slavica*, 4, no. 2 (1982): 63-70.

[2] Schopenhauer's major work, *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* (The World as Will and Imagination) was first published between 1814 and 1818 in Dresden. Although it elicited high praise from his contemporaries, including Goethe, the work did not have an impact on the aesthetics of Romanticism, which dominated the European imagination of the time. An enlarged second edition came out in 1844, and a third, still more enlarged, appeared in 1859. It was only after these later editions that Schopenhauer's philosophical ideas began to be "received" properly by the new generation of artists of the second half of the 19th century.

All quotations are from Arthur Schopenhauer, *Werke in zehn Bänden* (Zürich, 1977), which follows the text of the authoritative *Zürcher Ausgabe*, 3d ed. (Wiesbaden, 1972). *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* appears in four volumes, here marked I, 1, I,2, II,1, and II, 2, followed by the page number.

to music, and to death, made him not only into the immediate precursor and mentor of Friedrich Nietzsche, but also exercised a most decisive influence on the musical and poetic conceptions of Richard Wagner.[3] Wagner became the first European artist to synthesize Schopenhauer's teaching on the Will into an all-powerful artistic metaphor, which culminated in the *Liebestod* motif of his music-drama *Tristan und Isolde* (completed in 1859).[4] Without inducing death through a "tragic mistake" (as in *Romeo and Juliet*) or a "suicide pact," the lovers Tristan and Isolde find ultimate fulfilment of their love in the experience of death (Isolde literally dies "of love" over the body of Tristan).[5] In their dramatically intertwining mono-

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[3] Richard Wagner first became aware of Schopenhauer's work while working on *Tristan and Isolde*, and this became *the* event in his life. See his letter to Franz Liszt, Zürich, 16(?) December 1854, quoted in Richard Wagner, *Die Musikdramen*, intro. by Joachim Kaiser, 3d ed. (Munich, 1983), 387.

[4] That the *Tristan* material is first used by Wagner in this most idiosyncratic manner, as a love drama symbolizing the will in the Schopenhauerian sense, can be seen from the fact that the generation of Romantic poets who were Schopenhauer's contemporaries attempted to treat the *Tristan* theme but failed to develop it beyond the *fragment* stage (A.W. Schlegel, 1801; F. Ruckert, 1839; Arnim and Brentano, 1804; A. von Platen 1825; W. Wackernagel, 1828; and K. Immermann, 1832). See Elisabeth Frenzel, *Stoffe der Weltliteratur*, 6th ed. (Stuttgart, 1983), 758.

However, it is also true that the *Liebestodmotiv* of Wagner's *Tristan* has its roots in Romanticism, particularly in Friedrich Schlegel's novel *Lucinde* (1799), in which Thomas Mann discovers lines parallel to Tristan's in the following segment: "Wir sind unsterblich wie die Liebe. Ich kann nicht mehr sagen, meine Liebe oder deine Liebe, beide sind sich gleich und vollkommen eins..." (We are beyond death, like love. I can no longer say my love or your love, both are the same and completely one...") See Thomas Mann, "Leiden und Grösse Richard Wagners " (1933), in his *Leiden und Grösse der Meister* (Frankfurt am Main, 1957), 250.

[5] Cf. the very interesting article by Gerhard Schulz, "Liebestod: The Literary Background of Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*," in *Miscellanea Musicologica* 14, ed. Peter Dennison (Adelaide, 1985), in which it is stated: "Isolde's is a self-induced death. The overdose she takes is of psychological rather than pharmaceutical origin: Isolde wills herself to death, and neither rope, dagger or poison is involved." The conclusion reached is that the *Liebestod* is a "metaphorical expression" for "sexual love as a transcendental power outside the coordinates of religion," at which Wagner arrived on the basis of the *Tristan* literary tradition, and to which he added the Schopenhauerian thought that death is not the end of life, but only the end of the individuation process. However, the article does not discuss the *Liebestod* metaphor in terms of the Schopenhauerian will. (Professor Schulz has kindly allowed me to read his article in the proof stage.)

logues in Act II, the "death-struck" (and not "star-struck"[6]) lovers "climax" in the realization of the infinite nature of their love and eternal yearning for each other, which death cannot change or destroy.

The *Liebestod* motif in *Tristan* has, as Thomas Mann pointed out,[7] very little to do with love (in any sense, especially in Schopenhauer's); it has, on the other hand, to do with the will. Accordingly, the motif is a metaphor for the idea of the indestructibility of the will, while love's yearning, symbolized in the so-called *Sehnsuchtsmotiv* of the opera, stands for the insatiability of the will and the pain that is of necessity associated with all desire.

The fact that the "love" of Tristan and Isolde has essentially to do with Schopenhauerian will is most clearly seen, as Mann points out once again, in the following draft version of Tristan's monologue in Act II: "Wie könnten wir sterben, was wäre an uns zu töten, was nicht Liebe wäre? Sind wir nicht ganz nur Liebe? Kann unsere Liebe je enden? Könnte ich die Liebe je nicht mehr lieben wollen?[8] If we substitute the word "will" every time Tristan uses the word "love," we arrive at the essentially Schopenhauerian question of whether it is possible *not to want to will*.

The main idea of Lesia Ukrainka's *Lisova pisnia* is also the idea of the will as the prime mover of life, while the process of wishing, or willing, or volition in general, is couched, as in Wagner's *Tristan*, in the yearning of two lovers for one another. The idea of the eternal and timeless existence of the will is embodied, as in *Tristan*, in the metaphor of death or love-death.

Almost as an echo of Tristan's speech, but transcribing the concept of love with its synonym (in the Schopenhauerian-Wagnerian sense) "pain," Mavka asserts that her heart contains something that cannot die and she cannot ever wish to forget:

> [Mavka] Ia budu vichno zhyty!
>   Ia v sertsi maiu te, shcho ne vmyraie!

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[6] Cf. the analysis of the "Tristan myth" by Denis de Rougemont, in his *Passion and Society* (London, 1956) in which he states correctly that the lovers Tristan and Iseult thrive on obstacles, but it is not possible, in the light of our conception, to agree that they seek the "most serious obstruction of all," death, because it is "the one most suited to intensifying passion" (p. 44).

[7] Mann, "Leiden und Grösse...," 252ff.

[8] "How could we die? What, except for love, is there within us that might be killed? Can our love have an end? Could I no longer wish to love Love?" Quoted in Mann, "Leiden und Grösse...," 252-53.

[Maryshche] Po chim ty znaiesh te?
[Mavka] Po tim, shcho muku
　　　　svoiu liubliu i ii daiu zhyttia.
　　　　Koly b mohla ia tilky zakhotity
　　　　ii zabuty, ia pishla b z toboiu,
　　　　ale niiaka syla v tsilim sviti
　　　　ne dast meni bazhannia zabuttia.[9]

As in *Tristan*, the love in *Lisova pisnia* is love-pain, love-yearning. And as in Wagner's formula of love, death is a main ingredient defining the passion between Mavka and Lukash. Already in their first encounter, love and pain and death are inextricably mixed. Lukash's first kiss is accompanied with the words "I shall kiss you to death!", and Mavka's happiness is expressed in an outcry of pain (in the stage directions, Mavka "skrykuie z bolem shchastia"). Continuing the love-death metaphor in their first encounter, Mavka voices a "death wish," even though, as a spirit, she cannot die. She would like to die, however, as a "flying star" dies ("se tak dobre — umerty, iak letiucha zirka"), and while Lukash is aghast at her words, he, too, admits that Mavka's "strange speech" grips him, that is, it finds an echo deep down in him ("Chudna u tebe mova, ale iakos tak dobre slukhaty").

　　　The yearning of the lovers is embodied in a musical motif that could be regarded as the equivalent of the *Sehnsuchtsmotiv* of *Tristan*. Thus the first encounter of Mavka and Lukash is accompanied, in fac

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[9] All quotations from the play are taken from Lesia Ukrainka, *Lisova pisnia* in *Zibrannia tvoriv u dvanadtsiaty tomakh*, Vol. 5: *Dramatychni tvory (1909-1911)* (Kiev, 1976). The date of completion of the play is given at the end of the text as 2? July 1911. The above-quoted lines, in particular the line "ale niiaka syla v tsilim sviti," appear to echo, almost down to the very choice of wording, the following passage from Schopenhauer: "Allein...können die Quaalen des Lebens seh leicht so anwachsen...Vergebens ruft dann der Gequälte seine Götter um Hilf an: er bleibt seinem Schicksal ohne Gnade Preis gegeben. Diese Rettungslosigke ist aber eben nur der Spiegel der Unbezwinglichkeit seines Willens, dess Objektivität seine Person ist. — So wenig eine aussere Macht diesen Wille ändern oder aufheben kann, so wenig auch kann irgend eine fremde Macht ih von den Quaalen befreien, die aus dem Leben hervorgehn, welche d Erscheinung jenes Willens ist." (However, the sufferings of life can easi accumulate to such an extent.... The sufferer then turns in vain to his gods f help: he remains delivered to his destiny without mercy. But this bein surrendered to one's destiny without help precisely mirrors the invincibility his will, in whose person it is objectified. — Just as no external force can change suspend this will, there is no external force that can free him from the sufferin that emanate from life, which is the manifestation of that will). *Die Welt als Wi und Vorstellung*, I, 2, 407.

is induced, by pipe music, and the melody produced by Lukash on his instrument elicits a lyric response from Mavka, who translates melody into verse: "Iak solodko kraie, / iak hlyboko kraie, / roztynaie bili hrudy, serdenko vyimaie!" Like the *Tristan* motif of yearning, this rhyme has the strength of a leitmotiv, as it reappears in the finale of *Lisova pisnia*, with the minor variation of "meni hrudy" in place of "bili hrudy".

That the love-death motif is a metaphor for the will is confirmed also by the semantic content of the word "heart" (interchangeable, through parallelism of imagery in the play, with the word "soul"), which in *Lisova pisnia*, as in Schopenhauer's treatise, becomes synonymous with the concept of will.

Mavka is initially characterized as a creature with "no soul," but "with a good heart" ("Nu, divonko, khoch ty dushi ne maiesh,/ta sertse dobre v tebe..."). Later she tells Lukash that she grew "another heart" when she heard his music, "the flower of his soul" ("Ne znevazhai dushi svoiei tsvitu,/... Toi tsvit.../ vin skarby tvoryt—.../ U mene mov zrodylos druhe sertse,/ iak ia ioho piznala..."). That she did not grow "another heart" literally can be gathered from her song, functioning as the main leitmotiv of yearning ("Iak solodko hraie...serdenko vyimaie!"), particularly when her lines are echoed in Lukash's exclamation ("Mavko!/ Ty z mene dushu vyimesh!"), establishing synonymity between the words "heart" and "soul." Departing from and embellishing Wagner's metaphor of the will, this usage of the word "heart" goes right back to the source — to Schopenhauer — where the word "heart," as a synonym for the "will," gives expression to the primacy of will over intellect. The very imagery of "heart" and "soul" occurring in *Lisova pisnia* are to be found in Schopenhauer's own text as examples of common linguistic usage (in German and Latin), in which the word "heart" is a synonym for the will, implying that the latter is the prime mover of emotions, sensations, and states of affect:

> Mit vollem Recht ist das Herz, dieses *primum mobile* des thierischen Lebens, zum Symbol, ja zum Synonym des Willens, als des Urkerns unserer Erscheinung, gewahlt worden und bezeichnete diesen, im Gegensatz des Intellekts, der mit dem Kopf geradezu identisch ist. Alles was, im weitesten Sinne, Sache des Willens ist, wie Wunsch, Leidenschaft, Freude, Schmerz, Gute, Bosheit, auch was man unter "Gemuth" zu verstehen pflegt, und was Homer durch "das liebe Herz" ausdruckte, wird dem Herzen beigelegt. Demnach sagt man: — er hat ein schlechtes Herz; — er hangt sein Herz an diese Sache; — es geht ihm vom Herzen; — es war ihm ein Stich ins Herz; — es bricht ihm das Herz; — sein Herz blutet; — das Herz hupft vor Freude..."[10]

But most important of all for the metaphor of the will — as it occurs in Wagner's *Tristan* as well as in its idiosyncratic variant in *Lisova pisnia*, with both versions firmly embedded in Schopenhauer's cosmogony — is the connection between will and passion, or that which makes up the attraction between the love couples.

Both Wagner's erotic "mystery play" (*Tristan*) and Lesia Ukrainka's *feieriia* of love and death are dramatizations of the Schopenhauerian thesis that the reproduction instinct, the erotic drive, constitutes the focal point of the will. Thus, continuing the above-quoted exposition on expressions connoting the synonymity of heart and will, Schopenhauer says:

> Ganz speziell aber heissen Liebeshandel Herzensangelegenheiten, *affaires de coeur*; weil der Geschlechtstrieb der Brennpunkt des Willens ist und die Auswahl in Bezug auf denselben die Hauptangelegenheit des naturlichen menschlichen Wollens ausmacht...[11]

That the love-death metaphor in *Lisova pisnia* connotes the affirmation of the will through its focal point, the reproductive instinct, is seen most clearly in the near-fatalistic encounter between Mavka, who, to start with, knows only the fleeting seasonal romances common to her kind in the spirit world, and Lukash, in whose human domain "love is forever." The apparent motivation (according to the plot, Mavka has "no soul" and is given "a soul" by Lukash) is invalidated on the motif level, where, as it was shown above, the images of the heart and the soul are completely synonymous in the play.

Thus there is no Romantic dichotomy on the level of characterization between the spirit world without soul and the human world with soul, as might appear from a casual glance at plot development. The key that unlocks the riddle of the *Liebestod* metaphor in *Lisova*

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[10] "The heart, this *primum mobile* of all animal life, has been chosen with full justification as the symbol, nay, as the synonym for the will as the primeval phenomenon, and designates the latter, in opposition to the intellect, with which the head is practically identical. Everything connected with the will in the broadest sense, such as desire, passion, joy, pain, goodness, malice, as well as everything usually connoted by 'spirit' and which Homer described as 'the good heart,' is ascribed to the heart. Accordingly one says: 'in his heart he is a bad person'; 'he has his heart set on it'; 'it's coming from his heart'; 'it was a stab in his heart'; 'it breaks his heart'; 'his heart bleeds'; 'the heart jumps for joy'..." *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, II, 1, 277.

[11] "Love affairs, specifically, are called affairs of the h e a r t, *affaires de coeur*, the reproductive drive being the focal point of the will, and the selection it involves being the chief concern of all natural human volition..." Ibid.

pisnia is precisely in the absence of any psychological or characterological motivation of the fatalistic exclusiveness of Mavka's passion for Lukash, as it comes to expression in her reply to Rusalka Polova (Field Sprite) in Act II: "Tvoia krasa / na toi rik shche buinishe zapyshaie, / a v mene shchastia iak teper zoviane, / to vzhe ne vstane!" This exclusive orientation towards one particular object of passion can be explained in Schopenhauerian terms as the objectivation of the will and its focal point, the reproductive instinct, in the individuation principle.

On the plot and motif level of the play, the participation of the sexual instinct in the Mavka/Lukash passionate attraction is literally embodied in the figure of Eros, appearing as the Bilyi Palianyn (Silver Prodigy) with a "silver weapon" in Uncle Lev's "fairy tale" (within the "fairy tale") about the Tsarivna-Khvylia (Princess of the Wave). This unmistakable allusion to the myth of Venus (Aphrodite) "rising from the foam" and Eros (Cupid), the demonic god of love who inflicts pain with his arrow in order to bring two people together in love, is inserted in the plot following the first encounter between Mavka and Lukash and just before their love is to be consummated (when Uncle Lev falls asleep by the fire in Act I). Thus, on the motif level of the play, the love between Mavka and Lukash is established as belonging to the category of erotic love and hence as being in the realm of instincts or drives (that is, the will).

Once again the language of the play betrays literal traces of Schopenhauer's text regarding the relationship of instinct (or will), life, and intellect, and the way this is couched in common Latin expressions:

> Der Intellekt is *mens* [...]; der Wille hingegen ist *animus*; welches von *anima* kommt, und dieses von *anemos* [Wind]. Anima ist das Leben selbst, der Atem, *psukhé*: animus aber ist das belebende Princip und zugleich der Wille, das Subjekt der Neigungen, Absichten, Leidenschaften und Affekte: daher auch *est mihi animus, — fert animus, —* fur "ich habe Lust..."[12]

Not only does the lexicon of *Lisova pisnia* operate with expressions such as "nema okhoty", "bo vidkhotilosia" (Mavka in response to Perelesnyk's courtship *after* she has met Lukash), or "ne zanosyt viter

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[12] The intellect is *mens* [mind — S.V.]; the will, on the other hand, is *animus*, which comes from *anima*, and the latter from *anemos* [wind]. Anima is life itself, the breath, *psukhé*: animus is the life-giving principle and simultaneously the will, the subject of inclinations, intentions, passions, and states of affect: hence also *est mihi animus, — fert animus, —* for 'I want' ['I am in the mood for wanting' — S.V.]..." Ibid., 278.

zhadnykh spiviv pro nedosiazhnu voliu" (nor does the wind bring songs about unattainable freedom [will], contained in the monologue of "Toi, shcho v skali sydyt" ("He Who Dwells in Rock" — at the end of Act III), whose domain is in-*anima*-te, without "wind," hence without "*anima*"; but also the plot of the play features two episodes with mysterious figures, which seem to embody just this idea of the will as *animus* and life itself as *anima*.

This, in Act I Uncle Lev is approached by a white female figure rising from the mist. This phantom, or illusion, or vision, is characterized by a grasping motion of the hands reaching out for Uncle Lev. The stage directions state: "prostiahneni bili dovhi ruky *zahrebysto* vorushat tonkymy paltsiamy, koly vona nablyzhaietsia do Leva." This phantom figure, whom Lev identifies in keeping with his catalogue of Volynian ghostlore as Propasnytsia-Triasavytsia (Fever Wraith), is characterized as an "evil spirit" whom Lev tries to banish from the human domain. This figure, in fact, embodies the demonic force of the will or *animus* that is acknowledged in Schopenhauer's philosophphy, but not by Wagner's *Tristan*, where the "erotic cosmogony" is glorified as an end in itself even at the cost of distorting Schopenhauer's original idea.[13]

At the end of Act III, a second apparition, identified as Lukash's destiny (Dolia), is inserted into the plot. This is an even more explicit dramatization of Schopenhauer's notion of an *anima* representing life itself. Finally, Mavka also enters in the form of an apparition, immediately following the entrance of Destiny. This "lehka, bila, prozora postat, shcho z oblychchia nahaduie Mavku," closes the motif series *animus* (will), *anima* (life, destiny), Mavka (will-life-destiny), which are thus brought into a relationship of equivalence.

The importance of music in Lesia Ukrainka's play, both structurally and thematically, also derives directly from the central metaphor about the will, which determines the structure of the play on all levels. Thus music is thematized verbally as yet another

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[13] Moreover, the demonic figure with long (presumably wiry, sinewy) arms and long thin fingers clenched in a grasping gesture is visually reminiscent of one of the versions of Mikhail Vrubel's "Demon" (*Demon u sten monastyria*, 1891) where the tall, androgynous figure is caught in a pose straining with its entire will power on the threshold of a decision. Its volition comes to expression in the clenched (grasping) fingers on its hands and downstretched sinewy arms. For Vrubel, "demon" meant "soul", not "devil" or "Lucifer," and thus his attempts to give visual shape to Mikhail Lermontov's Romantic poem are attempts at creating an archetypal figure embodying the undying principle of struggle, namely of the will itself. See P. Suzdalev, "Demon Vrubelia," in *Panorama iskusstv '78*, ed. E.B. Murina (Moscow, 1979), 101-138.

synonym for, or manifestation of, the will, while the incidental music that is part of the setting (or the mise-en-scène) allows for the creation of atmosphere or mood states, which in turn concretize the central metaphor of will.

Of all the arts it is music, according to Schopenhauer, that is the most spontaneous and direct expression of the will, and that is why music acts directly on the will of the listener, that is, on his emotions, passions, and states of "affect," in a way as to intensify or transform the same.[14] This explains the near-cinematic technique of the mise-en-scène and scene changes in *Lisova pisnia*, *[a technique also found in Wagner's operas, which are consequently in parts unstageable. Similarly, in Lisova pisnia[* the visual transformations of trees or flowers from a budding stage into full growth ("the trees are still leafless, but their leaf buds are about to open" in the Prologue stage directions), the elemental, wind-like or surge-like movement of characters on stage ("Toi, shcho hrebli rve" does not "walk" or "run" and is not propelled by normal means when he comes "rushing" out of the forest ',with its waters," "rushing with the current" and "circling around" on the lake surface), the psychedelic color changes of characters' costumes (the clothing of the same "He Who Rends the Dikes" constantly changes from "turpid yellow to clear blue," emitting "swift golden sparks"), the scenic transformations between the acts from one nuance of spring to another (from "provesna" — early spring — in the Prologue to "vesna dali postupyla" in Act I), or, on the lexical level, the verbal neologisms (like "voda synishaie"[15] — "the water becomes bluer and bluer"), all of these stage instructions are based on the same idea, namely, the primacy of the will as the basis of all life and the principal

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[14] "Weil die Musik nicht, gleich allen anderen Künsten, die I d e e n, oder Stufen der Objektivation des Willens, sondern unmittelbar den Willen selbst darstellt; so ist hieraus auch erklärlich, dass sie auf den Willen, d.i. die Gefühle, Leidenschaften und Affekte des Hörers, unmittelbar einwirkt, so dass sie dieselben schnell erhöht, oder auch umstimmt". (Because music does not, in the manner of all the other arts, represent ideas or stages of the objectified will, but, on the contrary, is a spontaneous representation of the will itself, it becomes easy to see why it has a spontaneous effect on the will, that is, on the feelings, passions, and states of affect of the listener, in a way as to swiftly intensify these or transform them). *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, II 2, 527.

[15] Cf., for example, among other lexical similarities, the line "i sneg sinnei" — "Snezhnaia viaz" in Aleksandr Blok's early Symbolist cycle *Snezhnaia maska* (1907), or the stage instructions of his lyrical drama *Balaganchik* (1906), which are reminiscent of the motion of "He Who Rends the Dikes" in "pozadi on — ves v chernom, gibkii, v krasnoi maske i chernom plashche. Dvizheniia stremitelny. On gonitsia za nei, to nastigaia, to obgoniaia ee. Vikhr plashchei."

function of music, among all the arts, as the direct conductor or vehicle of expression for the will. Schopenhauer goes so far as to reverse the traditional view about music as the background and "illustration" to poetry and to assert the autonomous expressive power of music, which makes the other arts, in particular the verbal arts, superfluous to it. Thus, according to Schopenhauer, in an opera music can express everything, while the libretto, the verbal text, and the stage action are mere embellishments. It would therefore, in his opinion, be more appropriate to compose the text of an opera to the music rather than the music to the text.[16]

This also may explain the great emphasis on music as a component part of turn-of-the-century theater in general, of which *Lisova pisnia* is an integral and formative part. Not only does incidental music composed specifically for given dramatic works become the vogue (for example, the appendix to *Lisova pisnia* containing Volynian folksong-type melodies selected by Lesia Ukrainka herself, Miloje Milojevic's musical prologue and Latin song composed for the Serbian Symbolist poet Milutin Bojić and his 1913 lyrical drama *The Autumn of the King*), but dramatists like Hugo von Hofmannsthal actually produce "operatic poetry" that is destined from the start for musical execution (*Der Rosenkavalier, Ariadne, Danae*, etc.). Even drama, which is not consciously destined to become opera text, appears to be structured in such a way as literally to call for operatic execution, because the verbal form alone is used to portray states of affect or transformations of the same that are better sung (or played instrumentally) than acted. This is the case with the non-musical stage version of *Der Rosenkavalier*, but also with the drama of the Serbian and Croatian Symbolists, such as Milutin Bojić and Ivo Vojnović.[17] Similarly, in the Russian Symbolist drama of Aleksandr Blok, the verbal poetic text implies the movement of pantomime or ballet, which in turn has strong associations with musical composition

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[16] See Schopenhauer's "Zur Metaphysik der Musik," in *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, II, 2, 526ff.

[17] Cf., for example, Vojnović's *Dubrovačka trilogija* (Dubrovnik Trilogy, 1902) and Bojić's "historical" lyrical drama *Kraljeva jesen* (The Autumn of the King, 1912), both of which have "Wagnerian" stage directions and mise-en-scènes. Moreover, the exceptional suitability of this "dramatic" material for musical execution is demonstrated by the fact that Bojić's drama served as an inspiration and as libretto material for an opera (as late as 1953) by the Yugoslav composer Stanojlo Rajičić (born 1908). The opera, entitled *Simonida* (after the heroine of the drama), follows the *Tristan* tradition in the thematization of passion, or yearning, and both Rajičić's opera and Bojić's original drama contain their own versions of the *Liebestod* motif.

(as in *Balaganchik*, for instance, where the ball scene evokes one of the movements of Hector Berlioz's *Symphonie phantastique*).

On the thematic level, music is represented by the sound of a reed pipe (in itself a highly evocative, mood-creating sound used emblematically in the "new drama",[18] which, through image association, is identified with the (human) voice.[19]

But voice (or music) is also a synonym for will. Thus voice is the only thing that remains of Mavka after her "earthly" devastation and transformation into a willow tree ("holos sopilky" in Act III is equated with Mavka's voice, since Kylyna's son had made a pipe from the willow tree into which Mavka was transformed). Music is also the "flower" of Lukash's soul and the mainspring of erotic desire. Thus Mavka can say that their "love" sprang up from this flower, while the same love is embodied in the erotic musical leitmotiv of yearning made up of Mavka's voice in combination with Lukash's instrumental melody.

Completing the cosmogony of will in the play is the symbolic representation of its eternal life and indestructibility. On the plot level this comes to expression in Mavka's prehistory (her "white dreams" during "winter sleep"), in her transformation into a willow tree, and in her encounter with the force of "oblivion," portrayed by "He Who Dwells in Rock." When "He..." offers Mavka a state of in-*anima*-te existence, in a domain where there is *no will,* Mavka rejects the offer with the assertion that she cannot renounce her will (manifest, for her, in her love-pain), which must live forever. Similarly, in her own prehistory, emerging in her monologue in Act I ("Nichoho. Spala...")

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[18] Cf. the sound of a horn (*rozhok*) at the opening of Treplev's "play-within-the-play" in the earliest and most programmatic of Anton Chekhov's performed plays, *The Seagull.* Treplev's "play" is a version of the "typical" new Symbolist drama, sympathetically parodied by Chekhov, whose own drama is served by some of the new "devices" of Symbolism (sound effects, pauses, music) — all serving to create moods, whose "orchestration" on stage makes up the action of Chekhov's "new theater".

[19] Cf., on this point, also Schopenhauer's corresponding view on the function of the human voice as yet another instrument of music and hence also serving as the most spontaneous expression of the will: "Die Musik als solche kennt allein die Töne, nicht aber die Ursachen, welche diese hervorbringen. Demnach ist für sie auch die *vox humana* (menschliche Stimme) ursprünglich und wesentlich nichts Anderes, als ein modifizierter Ton, eben wie der eines Instruments." (Music as such knows only the tones and not the causes that bring these about. Consequently the *vox humana* [human voice] represents for it originally and essentially nothing else but a modified tone, just like that of the instrument.) *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung,* II, 2, 527.

and in Lukash's questioning about her parentage, Mavka's existen[ce]
appears as timeless ("meni zdaietsia, shcho zhyla ia zavzhdy...")
immutable ([Lukash: "I vse taka bula, iak otteper? / [Mavka]
Zdaietsia, vse taka..."), and unfolding in a primeval region (th[e]
"predkovichnyi lis" she has never left), while sleep, the "prime[val]
state" according the Schopenhauer,[20] in which the living forces [of]
nature are unceasingly active (expressed through the aesthe[tic]
quality of the "white dreams" Mavka has during winter), is her actu[al]
preintellectual, precognitive domain.

Although the metaphor of *Liebestod* does not, in its archety[pal]
version in Wagner's *Tristan,* contain the notion of love-compassi[on]
(*Liebe-Mitleid*), in the *Lisova pisnia* variant of the metaphor there is [an]
attempt to extend the metaphor to include, beside the notion of lo[ve-]
passion or love-eros, the Schopenhauerian idea of love-compassi[on.]
For Schopenhauer deliverance from the will is in the total denial [of]
the will to live. This can happen temporarily through aesthe[tic]
contemplation (in art), through asceticism (sainthood and scholarshi[p])
and, finally, through love-*agapè* or love-*caritas*.[21]

Thus love-pain and love-yearning in *Lisova pisnia* is transform[ed]
in the end into love-regret (*zhal*) and love-pity. Hence Lukas[h's]
melody in the finale is "melancholy", like "zhal pro shchos zahuble[ne]
i nezabutnie" (regret for something lost and unforgettable), while i[t is]
the unearthly force of Mavka's "zhal palkyi" that explodes t[he]
kingdom of "He Who Dwells in Rock" to allow her to emerge into t[he]
world once more, to be "reborn."

Pity, regret, and repentance are the ingredients of Lukash's n[ew]
"love" for Mavka in the last act of the play (he sends her "ta[l

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[20] Cf. Schopenhauer's explanation of the role of the intellect (or brain[)]
subordinate to the will, acting as some sort of vedette or guard on a post. Wit[h its]
cognitive function, the intellect is handing information about the outside w[orld]
back to the will. Like anyone on guard duty, the intellect is in a constant stat[e of]
attention or tension and is glad to leave its "post" for a rest — the state of sl[eep.]
During sleep the entire strength of the will is directed at the preservation [and]
correction of the organism. All beneficial crises (of health) take place in sl[eep]
because it is only when it is freed from the cognitive burden that nature has a f[ree]
hand and can regenerate itself. The embryo sleeps all the time, and the grow[ing]
child, most of the time. Sleep, then, according to Schopenhauer, is the prim[eval]
state of being ("der ursprüngliche Zustand"). *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellun[g,]*
1, 282.

[21] Schopenhauer's idea of love is summed up in the following aphori[sm:]
"Alle Liebe (*agapè, caritas*) ist Mitleid" (All love (*agapè, caritas*) is compassion).
Welt als Wille und Vorstellung, I, 2, 464.

boliuchyi pohliad, povnyi tuhy i kaiattia palkoho" and "z nevymovnoiu tuhoiu dyvytsia na nei").

But even though the concept of *zhal* introduces the ideas of love-*agapè*, the *Liebestod* metaphor as the symbol of love-eros representing the focal point of the will reasserts itself in that even this *zhal* is qualified with the concept of passion; hence it is "zhal palkyi" (passionate pity) and "kaiattia palkoho" ("of passionate regret"). For even in its idiosyncratic variant in *Lisova pisnia*, the *Liebestod* motif remains essentially true to type, as a metaphor for the Schopenhauerian conception of the will in turn-of-the-century European art.

Olesia Rosalion

THE DRAMATURGY OF GRIEF: VASYL STEFANYK'S "SYNY"

The observation that the short prose works of Vasyl Stefanyk possess qualities that are more often the property of drama than of epic prose is commonplace. The dramatic element has been named as one of the features of Stefanyk's stories that justify classifying his works as exemplars of the genre known to literary history as the *Novelle* or novella.[1] And yet the dramatic qualities of many individual stories still await satisfactory analysis. "Syny" (Sons)[2] is a case in point. The quality of psychological persuasiveness in the story has led certain critics to reflect on the representational and descriptive (and, by implication, static) qualities of the work and to overlook its dramatic character.[3] D.H. Struk remarks briefly on the presence of dramatic movements within the emotional intensity of the novella without, however, examining them fully.[4] Indeed, criticism of "Syny" has hitherto scarcely gone beyond the affirmation that the story is a singularly powerful and moving evocation of the grief of the peasant Maksym for his two lost sons who died at war defending Ukraine.

The present study proposes to describe the structure of Stefanyk's management of the theme of grief by means of a dramatic model and to show the possibilities of interpreting the emotive strategy thus revealed as a key to what has been called the "philosophical subtext"[5]

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[1] D.S. Struk, in *A Study of Vasyl' Stefanyk: The Pain at the Heart of Existence* (Littleton, Colo., 1973), quotes a vignette of references to the dramatic qualities in Stefanyk's style (p. 74) and examines his works with the poetics of the novella in view (esp. pp. 62-86).

[2] "Syny" was written in 1922 and first appeared in November of that year in *Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk* 78, bk. 7:3-7. The story was included in the collection *Zemlia* (Lviv, 1926).

[3] For example, V.M. Lesyn, "Velykyi maister realistychnoi novely," intro. to Vasyl Stefanyk, *Tvory* (Kiev, 1964), 22.

[4] Struk, 121.

[5] M.S. Hrytsiuta, "Vasyl Stefanyk," in *Istoriia ukrainskoi literatury u vosmy tomakh*, 5: *Literatura pochatku XX st.*, ed. P.I. Kolesnyk (Kiev, 1968), 255.

of the novella. To this end it is necessary, first of all, to clarify the term "dramatic" as it is to be used here. In the past, critics have identified as dramatic elements in Stefanyk the prevalence of dialogue, the use of dynamic words (especially verbs), a stylistic orientation on the sentence rather than on the paragraph, and a concentration upon the revelation of character.[6] For the purpose of this study it is more advantageous to focus on a different aspect of the analogy between drama and Stefanyk's prose. Among the generally recognized essential ingredients of drama are the qualities of confrontation, interaction, and conflict (generally, though not necessarily, between characters); and changes, as a result of dramatic development, in the relationships between participants in the interaction.[7]

In terms of these criteria, Stefanyk's "Syny" is a dramatic work because its theme is a confrontation (between Maksym and the outside world, as represented in the earth, his fate, and God), and because the relative positions of the parties to this conflict, as a result of their interaction, undergo a transformation. Briefly stated, the dramatic development of the novella, which is to be described below in detail, consists of the simultaneous unfolding of two processes: the diminution of Maksym's externally (physically) expressed grief from an initial maximum, and a growth in the degree to which his grief is integrated into his psyche.

These external and internal spheres of the drama are linked to each other through the symbol of the earth, which is the physical and socioeconomic center of Maksym's daily work as a peasant and, at the same time, the emotional and spiritual center of his being. At the physical level Maksym and the earth are inseparable: the earth is always either under his feet, in his hands, or on his body. At the spiritual level the earth proves to be both the object of Maksym's love and the source of his suffering and grief. In the drama of "Syny" it is both protagonist and antagonist.

The evolution of the drama can be divided into four stages: [1] up to Maksym's rejection of the skylark (204, 160);[8] [2] up

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[6] For a survey, see Struk, 74-82.

[7] These qualities figure prominently in such standard guides to the *critical communis opinio* as S.W. Dawson, *Drama & the Dramatic*, The Critical Idiom, no. (London, 1970), and "Drama" in Gero von Wilpert, *Sachwörterbuch der Literatur* 5th ed. (Stuttgart, 1969), 183-87, here 184.

[8] Page references are to (1) the text of "Syny" in Stefanyk, *Tvory* and (2) translation "Sons," in Struk respectively. All quotations are from Struk translation.

Maksym's tearing out his hair and throwing it onto the earth (205, 161); [3] up to the end of Maksym's inner monologue concerning the loss of his sons (206, 162); and [4] the brief remainder.

Anger and resentment dominate the first stage. Maksym's psychological state is revealed indirectly through external signs. Physical aggressiveness and verbal abuse create an illusion of toughness and insensitivity. Like the earth that he tills, Maksym appears hard and unyielding. Yet his likeness to the earth also provides the key to understanding the complexities in the nature of this peasant. His toughness is like the hard crust on the earth that eventually yields and produces "softness": "Maksym's feet felt the softness under them; that softness that so rarely enters the peasant's soul. The earth gives him that softness and for that he loves it so" (203, 159). This "softness" is an attribute that Maksym shares with the earth but suppresses in the first stage of the novella, preferring to project toughness of body and mind. His relationship with the earth at this initial stage is both physical and aggressive. The earth and he are presented as engaging in physical combat. Maksym's ammunition is his barrow and his perseverance. The earth retaliates with clouds of dust, but inevitably succumbs. It "gave in, fell apart" (203, 159).

If Maksym is victorious in his battle with the earth, so the earth is in its turn victorious. It extracts the last ounce of Maksym's physical strength. Both are simultaneously triumphant and defeated. The earth demands more than physical strength. It demands pain and sacrifice. The image of the trail of red blood that Maksym leaves behind him when a piece of glass cuts his foot carries a symbolic meaning: his external wound not only represents his sacrifice of blood in the course of work, but alludes to the sacrifice of his sons to the earth. The fusion of man's blood and the earth emphasizes the inseparable link between Maksym and the earth, between the labor of love and sacrifice.

The toughness that Maksym projects in his attitude towards his body and its physical pain " 'Now you can hurt or stop, or as you like [sic], but you'll continue to harrow' " (204, 159-60), is the same toughness that he attempts to project when dealing with inner pain at the loss of his sons. His toughness overcomes external (physical) pain, and he relentlessly pushes his old body onward. However, the veneer of toughness cannot cope so successfully with internal (emotional and spiritual) pain.

Maksym's toughness is transmuted on the internal plane into the denial and rejection of emotion in any form. This expresses itself as the virtue of endurance and resilience when coping with physical

exertion and pain. However, in dealing with internal pain and grief, toughness of this kind becomes a negative trait that lapses into cynicism.

Maksym rejects beauty, love, and all that reminds him of "life." This is expressed especially in the annoyance provoked by the skylark's singing: " 'Oh, shut up, don't bark over my head; for whom are you singing? For this dilapidated and chewed up old man?' " (204, 160). The void that he sees in the world around him is the external projection of the void he feels inside — a numbness that paralyzes his heart and soul. However, even his cynicism and rejection expresses itself aggressively in verbal abuse and physical violence. Maksym verbally attacks people, animals, nature, and God; his resentment finds violent physical expression when he throws his bread far into the field, hurls earth at the skylark, or forces himself to work despite the pain in his wounded foot. In the eyes of Maksym these animate and inanimate things have a common denominator — betrayal. For this reason his grief takes on the form of anger and resentment. Anger, the only form of emotion he allows himself, manifests itself externally as physical and verbal aggressiveness, which is at its maximum in this first stage of his mourning.

The sense of betrayal alienates Maksym from the comforting effect of religion. The icons his wife lovingly attended to stand neglected, because in Maksym's consciousness the saints failed to carry out their duties in protecting his family.

In his address to the skylark, Maksym's discourse registers estrangement from the divine: he refers to "your God," a God who is emphatically not his own. Maksym does not deny His existence, he merely disowns Him. This alienation, one learns, occurred only after the death of his sons. There was a time when Maksym enjoyed the singing of birds, a time when "God showered us with lightness, and the whole earth and all of the people shone with gold" (204, 160), a time when there was music, laughter, joy, and love. The image of wedding cakes (*kolachi*), suggesting freshness and sweetness, belongs to the past and presents a marked contrast to the stale and hard bread of the present (" 'Is this bread? It's only good for combing a Jewish horse, for it would tear the skin off a good horse' ", 204, 160). Maksym finds his present life as difficult to accept as he finds the bread hard to swallow. In anger he throws it away in a symbolical act of rejection of life. Likewise, when he throws a lump of earth at the skylark, he enacts an allegorical negation of the joyful memories of his past existence (Yet, as we shall see, even if at the symbolic level Maksym prefers to reject his past and present life, the novella demonstrates that in reality he has no alternative but to accept it.)

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The first stage of Maksym's mourning concludes with the rejection of the skylark and, symbolically, of all the sweet memories of the past that it evoked. This rejection represents the denial of all emotions and the suppression of his inner sensitivity.

A change takes place in Maksym during his conversation with the skylark. Even though he rejects the bird and all that it represents, in doing so he unwittingly unleashes suppressed emotions that he finds difficult to reject: "He took his grey head into his hands and bowed it down to the earth" (205, 160).

In the second stage of mourning the reader finds Maksym succumbing to emotions more readily than in the first stage. For the first time he allows inner anguish to surface. From this point the dramatic development embarks on the course that will be pursued to the end of the novella: the internal dimension of Maksym's emotional life begins to find more extensive and differentiated expression, while the physical externalizations of his grief diminish in intensity.

Maksym, however, does not immediately abandon his aggressive stand of the previous stage. This aggressiveness in unleashed on God, and Maksym becomes blasphemous: "God, the golden books in the churches lie that You had a son, they lie. They say You resurrected your son. And I don't ask You to resurrect them; all I ask is that You show me their graves so that I can lie by them. You can see the whole world, but over my graves you grow blind" (205, 161). Despite the abuse, Maksym addresses God as Lord ("*Hospody*"). At the very least, Maksym is talking to Him. This marks a progress in his relationship with God, and heralds a change in attitude. Maksym no longer demands the resurrection of his sons, but instead merely asks God to show him their graves. The request points in the direction of a compromise and an acceptance of his sons' fate. The hope of seeing his sons alive is substituted by the hope of seeing their graves. The graves extend the symbolic structure established in the first part: in the grave the earth physically envelops Maksym's sons, absorbing their blood and receiving the sacrifice of their life, just as previously the earth had absorbed the blood from Maksym's wounded foot. The analogy has a psychological dimension: it suggests that just as physical pain (the bleeding foot) was stoically to be borne, so the inner grief for the lost sons must be borne also.

Maksym appears intuitively to accept this imperative. His willingness to compromise continues into his address to his sons' imaginary mistresses. He begs them to bring his son's illegitimate child, who may partially alleviate his grief and sense of loss. Maksym compromises still further by his willingness to accept his "dear daughter-in-law" even without a marriage certificate.

The veneer of toughness and insensitivity recedes. Physical and verbal aggressiveness is intermitted by lyrical expressions, replacing the harsh dialect expressions of the preceding stage.

Throughout the novella Maksym's frequent appeals (for the resurrection of his sons, for the discovery of their graves, for the identification of their mistresses and children) remain unanswered. The larger part of the novella is taken up with his addresses to animate and inanimate objects; these of necessity remain monologues to the end, as there is never any concrete interlocutor. There is no answer and no help for Maksym, a fact of which he himself is painfully aware. At the beginning of the second stage he acknowledges this: " 'You should be ashamed of yourself, grey hair, that you're whining and singing like an old crybaby, for nothing in this world will help you anymore...' " (205, 160).

Despite his sense of hopelessness, Maksym yearns for some glimmer of hope or comfort, minute as that may be. When none is forthcoming, an emotional outburst reflects his magnified anguish and sense of hopelessness: Maksym "wept loudly, lay close to the earth and with it, as if with a handkerchief, he wiped his tears and blackened himself" (205, 161). In terms of the dramatic development, the violent externalization of grief is now on a level with its emotive expression. Loud weeping substitutes the angry shouts of the first stage. Maksym's feelings are no longer suppressed as they were previously. At the beginning of the second stage he had "bowed" his head "down to the earth"; now he "lay close to the earth" (205, 161). In his symbolic combat with the earth, as in his battle with his emotions, Maksym is gradually losing ground and adopting a more submissive role. When he wipes his tears with earth "as if with a handkerchief," he is using the earth to cover his emotional wound, just as in the first stage he had sprinkled earth onto the physical wound inflicted by his horse. The symbolic value of Maksym's wiping his tears with earth becomes self-evident when this act "blackens" him: the episode reinforces the earth's ambivalence. That which heals and comforts also inflicts pain; the symbolic source of nourishment and life also inflicts grief, demands sacrifice, and makes mourning (hence the *black*ening) inevitable.

Maksym continues to give ground, pleading with his son's imaginary beloved to come even without a child: " 'On your neck I will see his arms, and on your lips his lips will redden, and from your eyes as from a deep well I will fish out his eyes and hide them in my heart like in a little box. Like a dog, I'll sniff out his hair on your palm... Come lover, come and save the old man' " (205, 161). This last, fruitless plea for comfort through the indirect presence of his sons

precedes the most intense physical and emotional act in the novella, which is also the climax of its dramatic structure, in the sense that it is the moment of the greatest change in the relationship between Maksym and his antagonist — the world. Maksym tears out his hair and throws it onto the earth. " 'Grey hair burn the earth! I can no longer endure your weight...' " (205, 161). The act of throwing handfuls of his hair to the ground represents Maksym's final aggressive gesture towards the earth and therefore towards his grief-stricken life. In his anguish he wants the earth to burn. Of course, the earth does not respond to the challenge. On the contrary, it is Maksym who has no alternative but to submit (no longer partially but totally) to the earth and to everything it represents.

The third stage finds a physically and emotionally exhausted, submissive, and passive Maksym lying on the ground: "he lay on the ground and for a long time remained silent" (205, 161). The element of aggressiveness in Maksym's grief now disappears entirely. In the monologue in which he recalls the painful moment of parting from his sons, Maksym no longer suppresses his emotions. He speaks openly and sensitively with a calmness that the reader cannot but identify as the result of his newly achieved submissiveness and acceptance.

Maksym proudly recalls his son Andrii — the learned one. Maksym had responded to Andrii's decision to fight for his country with the question, " 'What Ukraine?' " (206, 161). This was not an expression of cynicism on Maksym's part. Rather, it had been indicative of his limited and simple concept of the earth, which was very real and concrete, but narrow and agriculturally centered. Andrii had extended the concept of earth to include the more abstract national idea of Ukraine by picking up " 'a lump of earth with his sword' " and saying " 'this is Ukraine' " (205-206, 161). The symbol of "blood" (" 'and he pointed his sword at his chest, here is her blood' ", 206, 161) links earth-Ukraine to her soldier-sons. Two bonds are defined: one between the land and its people, and another between love of country and blood sacrifice for it. The latter is paralleled to the bond between the peasant Maksym and his tiny plot of land; in both cases the sacrifice of blood is the result of love for the earth.

Maksym's monologue continues with his narration of Andrii's request for a clean ("white" in the original Ukrainian, 206) shirt and his washing with "clean water". The symbolism is consistent: purification precedes sacrifice. Whether Maksym understood Andrii's cause or whether he was "blinded completely" (205, 161) by Andrii's glistening sword, Maksym willingly proceeds to the act of sacrifice by sending not only Andrii, but also his younger son to war: " 'I have a

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younger one, too, Ivan, take him with you for this cause' " (206, 162).[9] Maksym has no doubts concerning the fatal consequences of this offering, yet he acquiesces in it without hesitation: " 'let me bury both of you in this soil so that the enemy cannot tear it out of these roots' " (206, 162). It is as though he recognized the necessity of this individual sacrifice in a fertility ritual that can be neglected or reversed only at the peril of life in general.[10] .His conviction is confirmed by the instinctive reaction of his wife: " 'And when the old woman heard this, then I saw right away that death wound herself around her neck with a white sheet' " (206, 162). The symbol of whiteness that represented purity, hope, and love in the figure of Andrii becomes a symbol of death. Maksym is destined to be "alone" — an awareness that he courageously imparts to his sons. His parting words are " 'Andrii, Ivan, never retreat, but don't forget me, for I'm alone; your mother died by the gate...' " (206, 162).

In the fourth and last stage, nothing remains of Maksym's original physical rebellion against his grief. He continues working, "but he no longer shouted; he was completely silent" (206, 162).

The image of Maksym ("Covered with mud, tattered, limping — he seemed to be sinking into the earth", 206, 162), suggests that the earth-as-antagonist has overwhelmed and conquered him; the appearance that he, like the blood from his wound and the blood of his sons, is sinking into the soil implies that he is himself to become a sacrifice.

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[9] Luka Lutsiv, in *Vasyl Stefanyk - Spivets ukrainskoi zemli* (New York and Jersey City, 1971), has pointed out that Maksym does not oppose his sons departure for the war and directs no blame toward the Ukrainian cause in which they sacrificed themselves (p. 286). Such blame would, of course, be inconsistent with the symbolic pattern of the novella: an identity has been established between Ukraine and earth, and earth, the element without which life is impossible, can extract any sacrifice. Complaints must be directed, instead, at those victims of Maksym's verbal and physical abuse that have been detailed above.

[10] One is reminded of the similar symbolic urgency of ensuring that the sacrificial corpse remains buried in T.S. Eliot's *The Waste Land* (1922), written in the same year as "Syny":

> That corpse you planted last year in your garden,
> Has it begun to sprout? Will it bloom this year? .
> Or has the sudden frost disturbed its bed?
> Oh keep the Dog far hence, that's friend to men,
> Or with his nails he'll dig it up again!

T.S. Eliot, *Selected Poems* (London, 1961), 53.

But this does not occur. The sacrifices that Maksym has offered, painful though they have been and continue to be, have brought the elements of his world into a new equilibrium. Late at night, after attending to the domestic animals, Maksym reproaches himself for his silence. His words, " 'I'll get some fire into you yet' " (206, 162), suggest a residual element of resilience that bespeaks a greater inner strength than had expressed itself in the aggressiveness of the first stage.

Having changed into a white shirt and eaten his meal, Maksym kneels on the ground and prays. In the submissive and passive act of kneeling and prayer the reader perceives his reconciliation not only with the earth and God (for the first time) but, at last, with himself and his grief, for his prayer is the means that accomplishes the psychological release of his sons: " 'And you, Mother of God, you be my houselady; you with your son in the middle, and next to you Andriy and Ivan on both sides...You gave one son, but I gave two...' " (206, 162). On the one hand, Maksym is now ready to contemplate the idea of his sons as remote from himself and in the orbit of another, divine, "family." On the other hand, he can now regard the divine as a familiar, even intimate, part of his own world or "household." By finding a model that allows him to come to terms with the facts of suffering and death, Maksym has achieved a form of relative solace.

The dramatic development of the novella has reached the denouement: spiritual equilibrium has been achieved; Maksym's grief has been sublimated and no longer needs to express itself in destructive eruptions of physical energy. The psychological situation that prevailed at the outset has been reversed.

Elements of the dramatic pattern of "Syny" lend themselves to interpretation in terms of a worldview. The unfolding of the earth symbolism, for example, might demonstrate the inevitability of suffering and sacrifice as part of the process of sustaining life. Maksym's evolution from rebellion against his fate to an acceptance of it, from angry rejection of God to prayerful submission to Him, might be read as an argument supporting a stoic and Christian model of life. (Certainly, it precludes the view, standard in Soviet criticism, that "Syny" is the illustration of a consistent oppositional sociopolitical and antireligious consciousness among peasants.)[11]

We have phrased these concluding generalizations in a deliberately tentative way. The fact that the structure of a work of art is not inconsistent with certain abstractly expressed propositions does not

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[11] See, for example, Hrytsiuta, 255-56.

imply that the work functions primarily as an encoded argument in favor of a particular worldview. It is the case, however, that the differentiated description of the structure of this work,, facilitated by the use of an analytic model derived from the genre of drama, makes possible a discussion that goes beyond the statement of the merely obvious: that "Syny" "very forcefully conveys"[12] the grief of fathers whose sons died at war.

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[12] Lesyn, 22.

Jadwiga Kuligowska

NON-DEVERBATIVE FORMATION OF VERBS
IN MODERN UKRAINIAN AND POLISH
(A CONTRASTIVE STUDY)

1. Verbal derivatives in modern Ukrainian and Polish.

In all Slavic languages, the formation of verbs uses either (1) the deverbative model ("intra-verbal formation") or (2) the non-deverbative model ("formation from other word classes"). This paper* limits itself to the latter category in its modified form to include (a) nouns, (b) adjectives, and (c) interjections.

Other denominative verbs, that is, those formed from pronouns and numerals — two closed word classes themselves — are not considered, as their formation is no longer an active process in any Slavic language. Cf. Jurčuk 1979, passim.

Suffixation is one of the most important derivational processes in all the Slavic languages, both historically and synchronically. That is why we find this model crucial and particularly productive for our contrastive study of modern Ukrainian (MU) and Polish (MP): it provides a framework of shared (and genetically related) entities, that is, facts and their relations, and within this framework, patent distinctions displaying adequate contrast between both languages.

Bearing this in mind, this study will attempt to examine the non-deverbative model in both MU and MP and to compare its employment in both languages. Some data from modern Russian (MR) and Czech (MCz) will be used to provide an adequate context for the discussion.

2. Corpus and distinctive properties of verbal suffixation.

The following corpus of basic verbal suffixes shared by all Slavic languages (CS = Common Slavic) will be examined:

	CS	MU		MP		
(i)	/ova/	/uva/	dar/uva/ty	/owa/	darować	"make a present"
(ii)	/a/	/a/	obid/a/ty	/a/	obiad/a/ć	"have lunch"
(iii)	/e/	/i/	bil/i/ty	/e/	biel/e/ć	"go white"
(iv)	/i/	/y/	bil/y/ty	/i/	biel/i/ć	"whitewash"
(v)	/n/	/nu/	sox/nu/ty	/nǫ/	sch/nǫ/ć	"get dry"

As we see, the "verbal suffixes" correspond to certain formal properties (traditional verbal classes or conjugations): in other words, they combine their purpose to form verbs (= word formation), with the result referring to a specific paradigm (= form building). A more specific term — formants — suggesting their grammatical and formal ("purely linguistic"), rather than lexical, function, is often used in modern literature (Tokarski 1973, 212–23, Honowska 1979, 22–23). The involvement of formal (inflectional) components follows from several facts. The suffix (i) displays an alternation, cf. *daru/va/v* past (masc.) vs. *daru/j/e* pres. (3sg), i.e., /va/ past vs. /j/ pres. in the same way as, e.g., in *da/va/v : da/j/e* ("give"). The suffix (v) uses the alternative *sox/nu/v : sox/n/e* (in MU also *vy-sox/∅/ vy-sox/∅/ty : -sox/n/e*). The suffix (iv) *bil/y/v : bil/y/t'* refers to the 2nd conjugation.

In the following discussion, three types of suffixation will be examined: (a) simple suffixation, e.g., application of one suffix only, e.g., (i) *dar-/uva/ty*, (ii) *obid-/a/ty* "have lunch," (iv) *sol-/y/ty* "salt," largely confined to de-substantives, cf. sections 3–4; (b) double suffixation, i.e., parallel use of two suffixes, e.g., (iii) /e/ and (iv) /i/, cf. *bil-/i/ty* "go white," *bil-/y/ty* "whitewash," cf. section 5; and (c) presuffixation, i.e., application of another suffix to precede one of the basic suffixes (i) – (v), e.g., *symvol-/iz/-/uva/ty* "symbolize" (= presuffix /iz/), *star/iš/-aty* "grow older" (= presuffix /iš/), cf. section 6.

3. Simple suffixation — suffix (i) /ova/.

While the corpus of suffixes (i) – (v) is shared by all the Slavic languages, its application may prove very different. The following discussion will establish a basic corpus of derivatives shared by both languages and, using it, will examine some word-formational characteristics typical of the distinction between MU and MP. In this context, the suffix (i) /ova/ is the most important and most distinctive suffix, linking both languages in the function under discussion.

The distinctive feature of this suffix involves two external aspects: it is not equally shared, in this function, by other Slavic languages (see sec. 7.) nor, at the same time, by both languages in other functions. Thus, e.g., MU uses the same suffix for imperfectivization, cf. *zapys-aty — zapys-/uva/ty* "write down," *vypros-yty — vyproš/uva/ty* "solicit, wheedle," while the same function, even in an identical environment, uses other suffixes in MP, cf. *zapis-ać — zapis-/ywa/ć, wypros-ić — wypraszać*, as well as in MR, cf. *zapisat' — zapis-/yva/t', vypros-it' — vypraš-/iva/t'*.

More specifically, the suffix /ova/ is not used for imperfectivization in the latter two languages. On the other hand, MU shares this property with MCz, cf. *zapis-at — zapis-ovat, vypros-it — vyproš-ovat*.

The INTERNAL distinction is based on the feature, "desubstantival." An overwhelming majority of the desubstantival verbs are derived

with this suffix, AND. at the same time, this suffix is rarely used with other than substantive bases, cf. *rad-uvaty/-ować* "please" in (3.3)

3.1 Transitive transforms use the substantival base in the accusative or instrumental (Jurčuk 1979, 173ff.).

3.1a Accusative base: *(daty/dać "dar")* — *dar-uvaty/-ować* "give a present," *(robyty "očka"/ robić "oczka")* *očk-uvaty/oczk-ować* "innoculate, engraft" *(skladaty "(po) djaku"/składać "dzięki")* — *djak-uvaty/dzięk-ować* "thank." Usual with non-Slavic bases: *pljan-uvaty/plan-ować* "plan," *import-uvaty/-ować* "import," *not-uvaty/-ować* "make notes, note," *form-uvaty/-ować* "form" (also with Latin prefixes *de-, re-, in-*).

3.1b Instrumental base: *(obrobljaty "boronoju"/obrabiać "broną")* — *boron-uvaty/bron-ować* "harrow." The instrumental refers here to "means, instrument" (= instrumental proper). Again usual with non-Slavic bases: *(karaty areštom/karać aresztem* — *arešt-uvaty/areszt-ować* "arrest," *numer-uvaty/-ować* "number," *(frezer) frezer-uvaty/(frez) frez-ować* "mill, cut (tech.)."

The instrumental can refer to material *(pokryvaty "vapnom"/pokrywać "wapnem")* — *vapn-uvaty/-ować* "whitewash, lime," *vosk-uvaty/wosk-ować* "wax." Usual with non-Slavic bases: *cukr-uvaty/-ować* "(sweeten with) sugar," *hart-uvaty/-ować* "temper, case-harden," *beton-uvaty/-ować* "concrete," *bal'zam-uvaty/balsam-ować* "embalm," for MP *pudr-ować, pomad-ować* (see 4.2aa).

3.2 Intransitive transforms use an accusative or instrumental base, or a base with accusative AND another case simultaneously.

3.2a Accusative base: *(vesty "besidu"/wieść "biesiadę")* — *besid-uvaty/biesiad-ować* "talk," *(robyty "pracju"/robić "pracę")* — *pracj-uvaty/-ować* "work," *(pidnimaty "lement"/wszczynać "lament")* — *lement-uvaty/lament-ować* "lament"; cf. also *protest-uvaty/-ować* "protest," *start-uvaty/-ować* "start," *manevr-uvaty/manewr-ować* "maneuver," etc. Some MP verbs are different formally, cf. *krok-uvaty/kroczyć* "march, step."

3.2b Instrumental base: *(buty "ševcem"/być "szewcem")* — *sevcj-uvaty/szewc-ować* "be a shoemaker," *bondarj-uvaty/bednarz-ować* "be a cooper," *včytelj-uvaty/nauczyciel-ować* "be a teacher," *starost-uvaty/-ować* "be a head," *korolj-uvaty/król-ować* "be a king," *pan-uvaty/-ować* "hold dominion, rule, prevail," *blaznj-uvaty/błazn-ować* "play the fool." In both languages, the use of this suffix with non-Slavic bases is equally active, cf. *špyh-uvaty/szpieg-ować* "spy," cf. also *advokat-*

uvaty/adwokat-ować "work as a lawyer," *aktor-uvaty/-ować, profesor-uvaty/-ować,* etc. MU, however, is more productive in using domestic bases, cf. MU *kuxarj-uvaty* or *kuxar-yty* — MP *kucharz-yć* "be a cook," *stoljar-uvaty* — MP *stolarz-yć* "be a joiner," cf. also *likarj-uvaty* "be a physician," *knjazj-uvaty* "be a prince," *vdov-uvaty* "be widowed," with no corresponding verbal derivative from *lekarz, książę, wdowa* in MP.

3.2c Accusative/Instrumental base referring to "feeling" (physical sensation or emotion): *(vidč-uvaty "holod"/terpity "holodom")* — *holod-uvaty/głod-ować* "be hungry," *harjačk-uvaty/gorączk-ować* "have a fever," *bid-uvaty/bied-ować* "live in poverty." Again, MU is more productive than MP, cf. *horj-uvaty* "grieve," *nud'h-uvaty* "be bored, depressed," with no MP correspondences.

3.2d Accusative/Prepositional base with adverbial function referring to "passing time": *(provodyty "nič"/buty des' "unoči")* — *noč-uvaty/noc-ować* "pass the night," *zym-uvaty/zim-ować* "(pass the) winter," *vik-uvaty/wiek-ować* "pass a lifetime." Again, MU is more productive here, cf. *vesn-uvaty* "pass a spring" and *zorj-uvaty* "pass the night in the open air," with no MP equivalent, and *lit-uvaty* "pass a summer" as opposed to MP *lat-ować,* with shifted meaning "be in heat" (about cows) (the MU meaning is now archaic in MP).

3.3 Very few adjectives use this suffix to form verbs (cf. Jurčuk 1979, 189ff.). Two groups can be identified.

3.3a Transitive transforms: *rad-uvaty/-ować* "please," *pyl'n-uvaty/piln-ować* "watch, guard," *marn-uvaty/-ować* "waste," *hot-uvaty/got-ować* "prepare." In others, the original motivation has weakened, cf. *mylyj/mił-y* "nice, kind" in MU *myl-uvaty* "fondle," *mił-ować* "love" (arch.), or disappeared altogether, cf. *cil-yj/cał-y* "all, complete" and *cil-uvaty/cał-ować* "kiss." The verb *ps-uvaty/-ować* "spoil" (MP *ps-i* "dog's") might belong here. MU *bil-uvaty* "skin" (with a lost connection with *bil-yj* "white") has no MP correspondence.

3.3b Intransitive transforms: *xvor-uvaty* (usually *xvor-ity*)/*chor-ować* "be sick, ail," *mudr-uvaty/mądr-ować* (usually *mędrkować*) "philosophize," *pust-uvaty/-ować* "stand empty" (MP arch.). Another MU verb, *pust-uvaty* "be naughty, play pranks," lost its connection with the original adjective *pust-yj* "empty." The verbs *ljut-uvaty* "be angry, rage" (cf. *ljut-yj* "angry"), *hyd-uvaty* "be squeamish" (cf. *hyd-kyj* "repulsive, disgusting"), *ščedr-uvaty* "carol" (cf. *ščedr-yj večir* "New Year's eve") have no MP correspondence in this category.

Conclusion concerning the suffix /ova/:

(A) This is a typically SUBSTANTIVAL suffix, very active, including non-Slavic bases.

(B) It is used MORE OFTEN in MU than in MP and in other Slavic languages, cf. 7.1.

4. Other simple suffixes: (ii) /a/, (iv) /i/.

4.1 Suffix /a/. In contrast to the suffix /ova/, this suffix has been disactivated and comprises a closed corpus with several surviving units.

4.1a Transitive transforms: *kar-aty/-ać* "punish," *hr-aty/gr-ać* "play," *sidl-aty/siodł-ać* "saddle," *put-aty/pęt-ać* "hobble, tangle, tie up." In MP the correspondence of MU *lask-aty* "caress, fondle" is *głask-ać*; its motivation has been shifted from *laska* "caress, favor" to *głądzić* "stroke." The MU correspondence of MP *(roz)uzd-ać* "(un)bridle" is *(roz)hnuzd-aty,* which also lost its original motivation in *vuzdečka* "rein." The MU verb *ladn-aty* "fix, agree" has no MP correspondence, yet can be explained only through the MP adjective *ładn-y* "(quite) good."

4.1b Intransitive transforms. A group of verbs with the meaning "eat, have": *snid-aty/śniad-ać* "have breakfast," *obid-aty/obiad-ać* "have lunch"; MU units *večerj-aty* "have supper" and MU *poludn-aty* "have a snack" have no direct correspondences in MP.

4.2 Suffix /i/. This suffix is reflected in
MU = /y/ always except /i/ after j ($j+i = i$)
MP = /i/ always except /y/ after "z-letters" (cz, rz, sz, ż)

4.2a Use with nouns (desubstantive formation).

4.2aa In transitive transforms. Employed usually with abstract (psychological) notions: *straš-yty/strasz-yć* "scare," *muč-yty/męcz-yć* "torture, tire," *kryvd-yty/krzywdz-ić* "commit an injustice, do wrong," *han'b-yty/hanb-ić* "disgrace," *balamut-yty/balamuc-ić* "fool," *xval-yty/ chwal-ić* "praise," *smiš-yty/śmiesz-yć* "make laugh."

Another, bigger, group refers to an ingredient, such as *sol-yty/-ić* "salt," *perč-yty/pieprz-yć* "pepper," or to surface marking or operation, such as *pljam-yty/plam-ić* "spot, stain," *(za)barv-yty/barw-ić* "color, dye," *znač-yty/znacz-yć* "mark," *mir-yty/mierz-yć* "measure," cf. also *batož-yty/batoż-yć* "lash." MU verbs like *pudr-yty* "powder" and *pomad-yty* "apply pomade" use the suffix /owa/ in MP: *pudr-ować, pomad-ować.*

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4.2ab Intransitive transforms shared by both languages are rare, cf. *dym-yty/-ić* "smoke," *poroš-yty/prosz-yć* "raise dust." In MP, the intransitivity tends to be expressed reflexively: *ščast-yty/szczęśc-ić się* "be lucky," *xmar-yty/chmurz-yć się* "be cloudy." For the relation *stoljar-/uva/ty — stolarz-/y/ć*, cf. (3.2b).

4.2ac Reflexive transforms are typical for the meaning "have young," cf. *kot-ytysja/koc-ić się* "(have) kitten(s), have young," *ščen-ytysja/szczen-ić się* "whelp, cub," *poros-ytysja/pros-ić się* "farrow," *tel-ytysja/ciel-ić się* "calve," *žereb-ytysja/żreb-ić się* "foal." This formation is Common Slavic, in fact Proto-Slavic.

4.2b The use with adjectives involves double suffixation (see section 5).

5. Double suffixation

This process involves two suffixes using the same BASE, i.e., the relevant suffixes come normally in pairs, e.g., *bil-ity/biel-eć* "go white, show white," *bil-yty/biel-ić* "whitewash, bleach." Unlike the simple suffixation, used predominantly by NOUNS, this method is typical of the remaining two categories under discussion, i.e., in ADJECTIVES and INTERJECTIONS.

5.1 Double suffixation in adjectives.

5.1a Suffixes (iii) /e/ and (iv) /i/ (note that /e/ = MU i, /i/ = /MU/ y): *bil-ity/biel-eć* vs. *bil-yty/biel-ić*, also *vesel-ity/wesel-eć* "become gay" vs. *vesel-yty/wesel-ić* "gladden, amuse," *kruhl-ity/okrągl-eć* "become round" vs. *kruhl-yty/okrągl-ić* "make round," *dirjav-ity/dziuraw-ieć* "to be worn into holes" vs. *dirjav-yty/dziuraw-ić* "make holes"; also with suffix truncation, cf. *(solod-kyj/słod-ki* "sweet") *solod-ity/słodz-ieć* "become sweet" vs. *solod-yty/słodz-ić* "sweeten," *(brud-nyj/-ny* "dirty") *brud-n-ity/brud-n-ieć* "become dirty" vs. *brud-n-yty/brudz-ić* "dirty, soil."

5.1b Suffix and (iv) /i/ and (v) /n/: *(o)-slip-nuty/ślepnąć* "go blind" vs. *(o-)slip-yty/-ślep-ić* "blind," *(o-)hlux-nuty/-głuch-nąć* "become deaf" vs. *(o-)hluš-yty/-głusz-yć* "deafen." The suffix /n/ is not active and is normally replaced by (iii) /e/.

5.1c Suffixes (iii)/(v) /e/ or /n/ and (iv) /i/: Two suffixes are used in parallel: *žovt-ity/żółt-ieć* or *žovk-nuty/żółtk-nąć* (note -k-!) "become yellow" vs. *žovt-yty/żółt-ić* "paint yellow." More interestingly, some MP verbs combine both the suffix /n/ and /e/ to yield /nie/, e.g., *molod-ity/młod-nieć* "grow younger," cf. *hirk-nuty* vs. MP *gorzk-nąć/gorzk-nieć*

"become bitter." Some MU verbs can drop /n/ in past tense/infinitive: *o-hlux-nuty* or *o-hlux-ɸty* "deafen" vs. MP *o-głuch-nąć* only, *vy-sox-nuty* or *vy-sox-ɸty* "dry out" vs. MP *wy-sch-nąć* only, cf. (7.6), (vi).

5.1d Use of one suffix only. Within the general model of double suffixation there are adjectives that use only one of the relevant suffixes.

5.1da /e/ only: *mužn-ity/mężn-ieć* "grow manly," *iržav-ity/rdzew-ieć* "get rusty," *vysoč-ity/wysocz-eć* "rise, tower (above)."
In the pair *drevjan-ity/drzew-ieć*, the MP suffix *drew-nian-y* "wooden" is absent, so the verb appears to be derived from the noun *drzewo* "wood." The same applies for the MP verb in the pair *červ-yv-ity/czerw-ieć* "become wormy," (MU *červyv-yj* adjective, but MP *czerw* noun).

5.1db /i/ only: *xytr-yty* in MP both *chytrz-yć* "be full of tricks" and *chytrz-eć* "grow tricky"; *ščaslyv-yty* in MP both *szczęśliw-ić* "make happy" and *szczęśliwieć* "be lucky" (in MU replaced by *xytr-išaty, ščaslyv-išaty*; see 6.7.).

5.2 Double suffixation in interjections.

5.2a Suffixes (ii) /a/ and (v) /n/:
The basic double suffixation here involves (ii) *a* (v) /ną/, referring to iterative ("imperfective") and momentary ("perfective") action respectively, e.g., *stuk-aty/-ać* "knock, keep knocking" vs. *stuk-nuty/-nąć* "knock (once), give a knock," *sap-aty/-ać* vs. *sap-nuty/-nąć* "puff, breathe heavily," *čx-aty/kich-ać* vs. *čx-nuty/kich-nąć* "sneeze." Besides "acoustic" interjections, others are employed as well, cf. *blysk-aty* : *blys-nuty* and *blysk-ać* : *blys-nąć* "flash," *skub-aty/-ać* : *skub-nuty/-nąć* "pluck," *kovz-aty* : *kovz-nuty* and *ślizg-ać* : *ślizg-nąć* "slide, slip."

5.2b The suffixes (ii)/(iii) /a/ or /e/ and (v) /ną/.
The basic double suffixation can be extended by the alternative in the first pair /a/ and /e/, cf. MP *mjavk-aty/miauk-ać* or *mjavč-aty/miaucz-eć* and *mjavk-nuty/miauk-nąć* "mew," *lusk-aty* or *lušč-aty* and *lusk-nuty* "peel."
Note that this category normally involves presuffixation, with the sequence /k/ + /e/ reflected as /č/ + /a/ in MU and /cz/ + /e/ in MP (for discussion see 6.9, 6.10).

6. Presuffixation.

This is a derivational property, in which the basic suffix (or formant) (i)–(v) is preceded by another suffix. Typologically, there are three types of presuffixes (subsequently p/s):

(a) international p/s, shared by some or the majority of European languages, e.g., *symvol-/iz/-uvaty* "symbolize" (typical for Slavic, Germanic, Romance and other European languages), *komand-/yr/-uvaty* (typical for MR, Serbo-Croatian, Germanic l-s, but untypical for MU, MP, MCz and Romance l-s);

(b) standard suffixes, contained in the base, e.g., *rozbij-/nyč/-aty* "rob, maraud" from *rozbij-nyk* "robber," *jasn-/iš/-aty* "become clearer" from *jasn-iš-yj* "clearer";

(c) connectors, i.e., C or V (= consonant or vowel respectively) in the stem – suffix junction, e.g., V-/C/-V junction in *be-/k/-aty* "bleat" (from interjection *be*), or C-/V/-C junction in *stuk-/ø/-nuty* "tap." The latter, however, is facultative, as it is derived from the formation without a connector, i.e., *stuk-nuty*, cf. 6.10

Categories (a) and (b) are based on nouns, except the suffix *-iš-*, which is based on adjectives: this will be marked (b!). The category (c) is based on interjections. However, the presuffix /iz/ might also have an adjectival base *(imun-/iz/-uvaty* "immunize" from *imun-nyj* "immune")* or a double (noun/adjective) base *(systemat-/yz/-uvaty* "systematize" from *systema/systemat-yčnyj* "system, systematic");* this will be marked (a*). In the same way, the symbol (b*) will refer to the presuffix /nyč/, as it is able to use an adjectival base as well, cf. *skromn-/nyč/-aty* "be overmodest" from *skromn-yj* "modest." And finally, the symbol (c*) refers to an interjectional base with the substantival presuffix *-ot-* *(stuk-ot-aty — stukit, stukotu* "tap"); for discussion of the last presuffix, cf. 6.8.

The following table summarizes the presuffixes, their category (cat.) (a), (b), (c), and their use in MR, MU, MP, and MCz. The rating of the use is: + frequent, (+) possible, (–) rare, – impossible. The table is followed by a discussion.

	Presuffix	Suffix	Cat.	Example	MR	MU	MP	MCz
6.1	/ir/	/ova/	(a)	komand-yr-uvaty	+	(–)	–	(–)
6.2	/iz/	/ova/	(a*)	symvol-iz-uvaty	(–)	+	+	+
6.2/1	/iz/-/ir/	/ova/	(a*)	MR symvol-iz-ir-ovat'	+	–	–	–
6.3	/i/-/fik/	/ova/	(a)	klas-y-fik-uvaty	–	+	+	+
6.3/1	/i/-/fic/-/ir/	/ova/	(a)	MR klas-i-fic-irovat'	+	–	–	–
6.4	/o/-/fik/	/ova/	(a)	tepl-o-fik-uvaty	–	+	–	–
6.4/1	/o/-/fic/-/ir/	/ova/	(a)	MR tepl-o-fic-ir-ovat'	+	–	–	–
6.5	/stv/	/ova/	(b)	lycemir-stv-uvaty	+	+	–	–
6.6	/nič/	/a/	(b*)	rozbij-nyč-aty	+	+	–	–
6.7a	/š/	/a/	(b!)	korot-š-aty	–	+	–	–
6.7b	/iš/	/a/	(b!)	jasn-iš-aty	–	+	–	–
6.8a	/ot/	/a/	(c*)	stuk-ot-aty	(+)	+	(+)	(+)
6.8b	/ot/	/e/	(c*)	stuk-ot-ity	–	+	–	–
6.9a	/o/	/n/	(c)	sy-k-aty	+	+	+	+
6.9b	/č/	/a/	(c)	sy-č-aty	+	+	(+)	–
6.9c	/č/	/e/	(c)	MP sy-cz-eć	–	–	(+)	+
6.10	/o/	/n/	(c)	stuk-o-nuty	(–)	+	–	–

For additional examples of Slavic-Ukrainian correspondences see section 7.

6.1 The presuffix /ir/, though shared by Germanic languages (cf. MR *form-ir-ovat'* "form," German *form-ier-en,* Swedish *form-er-a,* etc.), distinguishes SR from the remaining North Slavic area. This contrast applies for all derivatives of category (a).

In MP this suffix virtually does not exist: rarities like *baj-a* "tale, lie" vs. *baj-er-ować* "hoax" can hardly be considered relevant for the modern system, while in cases like *spacer* — *spacer-ować* "walk," *lakier* — *lakier-ować* "varnish," no presuffix can be established.

In MU (and MCz) the use of this presuffix — provided no other presuffix comes first — is possible but rare, e.g., *plis-yr-uvaty* "pleat" (cf. MR *pliss-ir-ovat',* but MP/MCz *plis-ować/-ovat'*). More often an alternative derivative without the presuffix is available, cf. (Jurčuk 1979, 1977) *komand-yr-uvaty* or *komand-uvaty* "command," *drap(-ir)-uvaty* "drape," etc. (again with or without the presuffix in MR and MP/MCz respectively). Rarely MCz can join MR as in MU *par(-yr)-uvaty* "parry, counter" (MR *parr-ir-ovat',* MCz *par-ýr-ovat,* MP *par-ować)* to avoid a clash with another verb *pár-ovat* "pair." This distinction sometimes appears in MU as well, cf. *plan-ir-uvaty* "glide" vs. *plan-uvaty* "plan." This opposition interestingly contrasts with the homonymity in MR and MP, both of which have more rigid rules: MR MUST use the

presuffix with the international base, displaying a homonymic *plan-ir-ovat'* "glide, AND plan," while MP CANNOT use this presuffix, which yields a homonym, *plan-ować* "glide AND plan." MCz displays the MU opposition, with the first number different semantically *plan-ýr-ovat* "level" vs. *plán-ovat* "plan."

6.2 The presuffix /iz/ is marked (a*) not only because some derivatives are based on adjectives (*imunizuvaty*, etc.; see above and Jurčuk 1979, 190–91), but because often it is hard to establish whether the base is substantival or adjectival (*systematyzuvaty*, see above) and the verb simply derives from an international base (incl. /iz/): thus, e.g., *orhan-iz-uvaty* cannot be derived from *orhan-iz-acija* "organization" or *orhan* "organ." Note that use of the full international base can eliminate the application of presuffix /ir/ in MR: *organiz-ovat'*, *legaliz-ovat'*, *materializ-ovat'*, *mobiliz-ovat'*, *civiliz-ovat'*, etc.

On the other hand, the presuffix /iz/ is very active, which is reflected by its expansion to Slavic bases, as in *vojen-iz-uvaty* "militarize," *bil'šov-iz-uvaty* "Bolshevize." In this area the presuffixes /iz/ and /i/-/fik/ compete in Slavic (and other languages), cf. MU (and English) *ukrajin-iz-uvaty* "Ukrainize" and *rus-y-fik-uvaty* "Russify."

6.3 The European presuffix -/ifik/- is subdivided into -/i/-/fik/- to distinguish it from the presuffix -/o/-/fik/-, which is specifically East Slavic. Note the alternation *k/c* (resembling the palatalization in MU *ruka/ruci* "hand nom., dat.") in MR *klassi-/fik/-acija* vs. *klassi-/fic/-irovat'*, corresponding with German (*Klassi/fik/ation* but *klassi/fiz/ieren*) but not with MU and other North Slavic languages.

6.4 As a by-product of the preceding presuffix, a new presuffix /o/-/fik/ was formed; the bridge is apparently the unit *elektr-y-fik-uvaty* "electrify" with an old, international form (cf. MP *elektr-y-fik-ować*), but with a new, socially justified semantics "introduce x" gas, cinema, radio, heating (= *teplo*), sound (= *zvuk*). The first x uses the old form, i.e., *haz-/y/-fik-uvaty*, while the others exclude it, cf. *kino-fik-uvaty*, *radio-fik-uvaty*, yielding eventually a separate connector /o/ (type *star-o-rus'kyj* "Old Rus'," cf. English *Ind-o-European*), cf. *tepl-/o/-* and *zvuk-/o/- + fik-uvaty*. This is a uniquely East Slavic presuffix, but the difference in MU and MR, as in 6.3, applies.

6.5 Unlike the preceding presuffix dating from the prewar period, the uniquely East Slavic presuffix /stv/, as in *lycemir-stv-uvaty* "play the hypocrite," goes back to Church Slavonic (Jurčuk 1979, 178; Slosar 1981, 37). This presuffix competes with simple suffixes or

presuffixes: cf. (iv) in *lycemir-yty,* the alternatives *tyran-stv-uvaty,* *tyran-uvaty* and *tyran-iz-uvaty* "tyrannize" are quite interesting, as only the last one, using the European model, is available in MP and MCz. Note that this presuffix is more typical of MR than MU: cf. MR *car-stv-ovat'* rule as a czar," *gospod-stv-ovat'* "hold sway," and their MU counterparts *carj-uvaty* and *pan-uvaty.*

6.6 The same can be said about the presuffix /nic/. Although known in MU as well — cf. *rozbij-nyč-aty* "rob" (cf. Jurčuk 1979, 183) — this presuffix in MR is often contrasted with a MU simple suffix, as in MR *sapož-nič-at'*, MU/MP/MCz (i) *ševcj-uvaty/szewc-ować/ševc-ovat,* or MR *povar-nič-at'*, MU/MP/MCz (iv) *kuxar-yty/kucharz-yć/kuchař-it.* Sometimes MU uses both an East Slavic and a West Slavic model, cf. MR/MU *sotrud-nič-at'/spivrobit-nyč-aty* "cooperate" as well as MU/MP/MCz *spivpracj-uvaty/wspólprac-ować/spoluprac-ovat.*

6.7 The presuffix /(i)š/ is uniquely MU, i.e., it has no correspondences in other Slavic languages. The model 6.7a extends to other comparative suffixes as well, cf. *vuž-č-aty* "become narrower," *kra/šč/-aty* "become prettier," *tov/šč/-aty* "become thicker." Some adjectives use both models, as *tyx-yj* "quiet" (with comparative *tyx-šyj* or *tyx-iš-yj*), which yields *tyx-š-aty* and *tyx-iš-aty.* The process of separation of this presuffix from the comparative suffix has started, as is obvious from the pair *star-š-yj* (type 6.7a) and *star-iš-aty* (type 6.7b).

6.8 Both 6.8a/b share the same presuffix *-ot-* found in the corresponding noun *stuk-ot-,* i.e., *stuk-it, -ot-u* "knock(ing), tap(ping)." This noun corresponds to MP *stuk-ot,* MCz *tluk-ot,* and MR *stuk-ot-nja* (no simple suffix *-ot-* with this function available in MR). Within this Slavic framework the corresponding verbs *stuk-ot=aty/=ity* were defined as the category (c*), i.e., with the interjection root *stuk-* (= radical deinterjectives) but formed through the substantival base (immediate constituent) *stuk-ot-.* However, given the high productivity of the relevant MU verbs contrasting with much lower (6.8a) or zero (6.8b) productivity in other Slavic languages, it might be equally correct to describe the segment /ot/ as having acquired the status of a real presuffix, yielding the sequence 1. interjection *(stuk-)* to 2. verb *(stuk-ot=aty/=ity,* as well as *stuk=aty/ =nuty/=o-nuty)* to 3. noun *(stuk-ot-).* This alternative sequence has been recently successfully claimed by Kravčenko 1984, 35–36 (see also Rusanivs'kyj 1969, 306 ff.), cf. *lusk-aty/-ot-ity* "crack" and *luskit* "cracking."

As we see, not only the unique use of the type 6.8b with the suffix /e/, but an alternative derivational sequence (verbs directly formed from the interjections) make the MU process specific vis-à-vis

the other Slavic languages, which either use the noun as the base for the verb (cf. MP *stuk-ot* and *stuk-ot-ać*) or do not use this relation at all (cf. no corresponding verb with the segment /ot/ available in MR).

6.9 The connectors /k/ and /č/ are used in all the Slavic languages in the function interjection+connector+verbal suffix. The distribution 6.9b and 6.9c is basically positional (morphemic), not morphological. MU, MR (and Slovak, cf. *beč/a/t'*, past *beč/a/l*) use consistently the suffix (ii) */a/*, while MCz always uses the suffix (iii) */e/*, cf. *beč/e/t*, past *beč/e/l*. MP represents a connecting link: the suffix (iii) */e/* in *becz/e/ć*, noun *becz/e/nie*, alternates in the same paradigm with the suffix (ii) */a/*, cf. past *becz/a/ł*, *becz/a/ła*.

6.10 Unlike other presuffixes, the presuffix */o/* is followed by a consonantal suffix */n/*. This is a typically MU presuffix, available for a great many of the deinterjectives with the suffix */n/*, cf. Rusanivs'kyj 1969, 305. Partly — but secondarily, as the limited quality and quantity indicates — this presuffix was extended to MR, cf. *rub-a-nut'* "cut, slash," *sig-a-nut'* "leap," *skaz-a-nut'* "blurt out" (note the *-a-* indicating the direction from MU to MR with correct "akanje," not vice versa). No correspondences are available in the West Slavic languages.

All derivatives of the category (c) are interrelated: the type 6.9 (*stu-k-aty*, *be-k-aty*) with 6.8 (*stuk-ot=aty/=ity*), as well as with 6.10 (*stuk-o-nuty*). They developed from a Common Slavic (partly Proto Slavic) framework into a unique MU system (cf. Rusanivs'kyj 1969, 307f.) well distinguished from its North Slavic, MR as well as West Slavic, context.

7. Derivational characteristics of MU and MU-MP relation.

In the following tables, MR, MU, MP, and MCz (in this order) will be contrasted to outline the Common North Slavic context of non-deverbative suffixation in MU and MP verbs. The following categories of correspondence are to be established.

(7.1) Common (North) Slavic (MR=MU=MP=MCz).

(i)				
besed-ovat'	besid-uvaty	besiad-ować	besed-ovat	"talk"
noč-evat'	noč-uvaty	noc-ować	noc-ovat	"pass the night"
rad-ovat'	rad-uvaty	rad-ować	rad-ovat	"please"
dikt-ovat'	dykt-uvaty	dykt-ować	dikt-ovat	"dictate"
organ-iz-ovat'	orhan-iz-uvaty	organ-iz-ować	organ-iz-ovat	"organize"

(ii)	*igr-at'*	*hr-aty*	*gr-ać*	*hr-at*	"play"
	zavtrak-at'	*snid-aty*	*sniad-ać*	*sníd-at*	"have breakfast"
	sedl-at'	*sidl-aty*	*siodł-ać*	*sedl-at*	"saddle"
	svet-at'	*svit-aty*	*świt-ać*	*svít-at*	"dawn"
(iii)	*šum-et'*	*šum-ity*	*szum-ieć*	*šum-ĕt*	"roar"
	kamen-et'	*kamen-ity*	*kamien-ieć*	*kamen-ĕt*	"petrify"
	krugl-et'	*kruhl-ity*	*okrągl-eć*	*kulat-ĕt*	"become round"
	rozov-et'	*rožev-ity*	*różow-ieć*	*růžov-ĕt*	"turn pink"
(iv)	*muč-it'*	*muč-yty*	*męcz-yć*	*muč-it*	"torture"
	sol-it'	*sol-yty*	*sol-ić*	*sol-it*	"salt"
	bel-it'	*bil-yty*	*biel-ić*	*bíl-it*	"whitewash"
	xitr-it'	*xytr-yty*	*chytrz-yć*	*chytrač-it*	"use cunning"
	pyl-it'	*poroš-yty*	*prosz-yć*	*práš-it*	"raise dust"
	tel-'it'sja	*tel-ytysja*	*ciel-ić się*	*tel-it se*	"calve"
(v)	*slep-nut'*	*slip-nuty*	*ślep-nąć*	*slep-nout*	"go blind"
	der-nut'	*skub-nuty*	*skub-nąć*	*škub-nout*	"pluck"
	maz-nut'	*maz-nuty*	*maz-nąć*	*máz-nout*	"dab"

(7.2) Missing in MCz (MR=MU=MP ≠ MCz).

(i)	*vek-ovat'*	*vik-uvaty*	*wiek-ować*	—	"pass a lifetime"
(ii)	*obed-at'*	*obid-aty*	*obiad-ać*	(*obĕd-vat*)	"have lunch"
	bel-et'	*bil-ity*	*biel-eć*	(*bĕlat*)	"turn white"
(iii)	*star-et'*	*star-ity(sja)*	*starz-eć(się)*	(*stárnout*)	"grow old"
(iv)	*xolod-et'*	*xolod-ity*	*chłodn-ieć*	(*chladnout*)	"grow old"
(iv)	*smeš-it'*	*smiš-yty*	*śmiesz-yć*	—	"make laugh"
(iv)	*dym-it'*	*dym-yty*	*dym-ić*	(*dým-at*)	"smoke"
	xuligan-it'	*xulihan-yty*	*chuligan-ić*	—	"behave like a hooligan"
(v)	*sypnut'*	*syp-nuty*	*syp-nąć*	(*nasypat*)	"spill (a bit)"

(7.3) Missing in Russian (MR≠MU=MP=MCz)

(i)	(*darit'*)	*dar-uvaty*	*dar-ować*	*dar-ovat*	"give a gift"
	(*saxarit'*)	*cukr-uvaty*	*cukr-ować*	*cukr-ovat*	"sugar"
	(*voščit'*)	*vosk-uvaty*	*wosk-ować*	*vosk-ovat*	"wax"
	(*sapožničat'*)	*ševcj-uvaty*	*szewc-ować*	*ševc-ovat*	"be a shoe-maker"
	—	*starost-uvaty*	*starost-ować*	*starost-ovat*	"be a head"
	(*car/st/vovat'*)	*carj-uvaty*	*król-ować*	*kral-ovat*	"rule"

(form/iro/vat')	*form-uvaty*	*form-ować*	*form-ovat*	"form"
(plan/ir/ovat')	*plan-uvaty*	*plan-ować*	*plán-ovat*	"plan"
(simvol/iz/-/ir/ovat')	*symvol/iz/-uvaty*	*symwol/iz-ować*	*symbol/iz-ovat*	"symbolize"
(špionit')	*špyh-uvaty*	*szpieg-ować*	*špeh-ovat*	"spy"
(ii) *(blestet')*	*blysk-aty*	*blysk-ać*	*blýsk-at*	"flash"
	blysk-ot-aty	*blysk-ot-ać*	*blýsk-ot-at*	
(nakazyvat')	*kar-aty*	*kar-ać*	*trest-at*	"punish"
(iii) *(stanovit'sja dyrjavym)*	*dirjav-ity*	*dziuraw-ieć*	*děrav-ět*	"be worn into holes"
(mužat')	*mužn-ity*	*mężn-ieć*	*mužn-ět*	"grow manly"
(iv) *(podslaščivat')*	*solod-yty*	*słodz-ić*	*slad-it*	"sweeten"
(obižat')	*kryvd-yty*	*krywdz-ić*	*křivd-it*	"offend, hurt"
(videt' vo sne)	*sn-yty*	*śn-ić*	*sn-ít*	"dream"
(brit')	*hol-yty*	*gol-ić*	*hol-it*	"shave"
(v) *(blednet')*	*blid-nuty*	*blad-nąć*	*bled-nout*	"grow pale"

(7.4) MU + MP features (MR≠MU=MP=MCz)

(i) *(boronit')*	*boron-uvaty*	*bron-ować*	*(vláčet)*	"harrow"
(bondarit')	*bondarj-uvaty*	*bednarz-ować*	*(bednářit)*	"cooper"
(temperaturit')	*harjačk-uvaty*	*gorączk-ować*	*(pálit)*	"have a fever"
(bedstvovat')	*bid-uvaty*	*bied-ować*	*(třít bidu)*	"live in poverty"
(gotovit')	*hot-uvaty*	*got-ować*	*(z-hotov-it)*	"prepare"
(golodat')	*holod-uvaty*	*głod-ować*	*(hladovět)*	"starve"
(tratit' naprasno)	*marn-uvaty*	*marn-ować*	*(marnit)*	"waste"
(umoljat')	*blah-aty*	*błag-ać*	*(vyprošovat)*	"entreat"
(iii) *(vozvysat'sja)*	*vysoč-ity*	*wysocz-eć*	*(tycit se)*	"rise, tower"
(iv) *(soderžat')*	*mist-yty*	*mieśc-ić*	*(obsahovat)*	"contain, hold"
(sčitat')	*lič-yty*	*licz-yć*	*(počítat)*	"count"
(v) *(cvesti)*	*kvit-nuty*	*kwit-nąć*	*(kvést)*	"flower, bloom"

(7.5) MU + MR features (MR≠MU≠MP/MCz)

(i) *ver-ovat'*	*vir-uvaty*	—	—	
(ver-it'	*vir-yty*	*wierz-yć*	*věr-it*	"believe"
gor-evat'	*horj-uvaty*	*(smucić się*	*truchlit)*	"mourn"
rab-st-vovat'	*rab-stv-uvaty*	—	*(otročit)*	"slave"
tiran-stv-ovat'	*tyran-stv-uvaty*	*(tyranizować*	*tyranizovat)*	"tyrannize"
teplo-fic-ir-ovat'	*teplo-fik-uvaty*	—	—	"introduce a heating system"

	kino-fic-ir-ovat'	*kino-fik-uvaty*	—	—	"introduce cinema"

(ii)	*dum-at'*	*dum-aty*	*(myśleć*	*myslet)*	"think"
	golod-at'	*holod-uvaty*	*(głodować,*	*hladovět)*	"starve"
	rozboj-nič-at'	*rozbij-nyč-aty*	—	—	"rob"
	sotrud-nič-at'	*spivrobit-nyč-aty*			"cooperate"
		(spivpracj-uvaty	*współpracować*	*spolupracovat)*	
(iii)	*večer-et'*	*večor-ity*	*(zmierzchać się*	*stmívat se)*	"grow dark"
	bogat-et'	*bahat-ity*	*(bogacić się*	*bohatnout)*	"grow rich"
(iv)	*gnev-it'* serd-it'*	*hniv-yty*	*(gniewać*	*hněvat)*	"anger"
	masl-it'	*olij-ity*	*(olejować*	*olejovat)*	"oil"
	bomb-it'	*bomb-yty*	*(bombardować*	*bombardovat)*	"bomb"
	pudr-it'	*pudr-yty*	*(pudrować*	*pudrovat)*	"powder"
(v)	*kašlj-a-nut'*	*kašlj-a-nuty*	*(kaszlnąć*	*zakašlat)*	"give a cough"
	sad-a-nut'	*sad-o-nuty*	*(cisnąć*	*máznout)*	"hit"

(7.6) MU specifics (MU≠MR/MP/MCz)

(i)	*(šagat')*	*krok-uvaty*	*(kroczyć*	*kráčet)*	"walk"
	(stoljarničat)	*stoljar-uvaty*	*(stolarzyć*	*stolařit)*	"be a joiner"

(for more examples see 3.2b.)

		xytr-uvaty			
	(xitr-it'	*xytr-yty*	*chytrz-yć*	*chytrač-it)*	"use cunning"
(ii)	*(poludničat')*	*poludn-aty*	—	*(svačit)*	"have a snack"
	ob"jedinit')	*jedn-aty*	*(jednoczyć*	*jednotit)*	"unite"
	—	*star-i-š-aty*	—	—	"grow older"
	((u)lučšit'sja)	*lip-š-aty*	*(lepszyć się*	*lepšit se)*	"become better"
	—	*jasn-iš-aty*	—	—	"become clearer"
(iii)	*(radovat'sja)*	*rad-ity*	*(radować się*	*radovat se)*	"rejoice"
	(otdaljat'sja)	*dalen-ity*	*(oddalać się*	*zdalovat se)*	"move away"
	(blestet')	*(blysk-ot-aty*	*błyskotać*	*blýskotat)*	
		blyskot-ity	—	—	"flash"
(iv)	*(ošibat'sja)*	*xyb-yty*	*(chybiać*	*chybovat)*	"make a mistake"
	(ošibit'sja)	—	*chybić*	*chybit*	"mistake"
	(niščenstvovat')	*žebrač-yty*			
		(žebr-aty	*żebr-ać*	*žebr-at)*	"beg"

(v)	—	skub-o-nuty	—	—	"pluck"
	(der-nut'	skub-nuty	skub-nać	skub-nout)	
	—	maz-o-nuty	—	—	"dab"
	(maz-nut'	maz-nuty	maz-nać	máz-nout)	

MU is the only Slavic language that actually uses the suffix (vi) ∅ in two variants: (vi)/(v) with /n/ in present tense (*merz/∅/ty*, *merz/n/e*), (vi) with /∅/ in present tense (*skub/∅/ty*, *skub/∅/e*). The suffix ∅ normally alternates with another suffix (i)-(v), which is usually shared by other Slavic languages, cf. *merz/∅/ty* or *merz/nu/ty*, with the latter form shared by MR, MP, MCz, etc. (vi)/(v): *merz/∅/ty* or *merz/nu/ty* yields

merz-nut'	merz-nuty	marz-nać	mrz-nout	"freeze"

Other MU examples:

merx-ty	or	merx-nuty		"grow dark"
merk-ty	or	merk-nuty		
mok-ty	or	mok-nuty		"soak"
xlja-ty	or	xlja-nuty		"grow thin"
(vy)-sox-ty	or	(vy)-sox-nuty		"dry out"
(za)-styh-ty	or	(za)-styh-nuty		"become stiff"

(vi): double use with suffix other than (v):

derg-at'	skub-ty			
	skub-aty	skub-ać	skub-at	"pluck"
rev-et'	rev-ty			
	rev-ity	(ryczeć	řvát)	"roar"
(iii) xrop-et'	xrop-ty			
	xrop-ity	charcz-eć	chroptet	"rattle"
—	verz-ty	—	—	"chat"

Conclusion

This analysis is based on the genetic identity of the models (sec 1) and suffixes (sect. 2) used by all Slavic languages in the nor deverbative formation of Ukrainian and Polish verbs. Departing fror the traditional comparative method, the present study has applied contrastive approach in order to demonstrate the specific derivation pattern of Ukrainian, which is only partly shared by modern Polis and other North Slavic languages, notably Russian and Czech (c sections 3–5).

We observe, for example, that Slavic verbs, which in general us one suffix (sections 3–4) and a pair of suffixes (sect.5 – doubl suffixation), are desubstantival and deadjectival/deinterjectival re

pectively. Yet, in the general Slavic context Ukrainian desubstantivals use the suffix /ova/ much more consistently and freely, while in the category of double suffixation Ukrainian is distinguished by an extensive pattern of deinterjectives.

The uniqueness of Ukrainian is particularly obvious from the use of presuffixes (sect. 6), which developed with particular force in approximately the last hundred years. There are sets of verbs in which Ukrainian is either joined by all North Slavic languages (cf. 6.8a, 6.9a), or by Polish and Czech (cf. 6.2, 6.3), or by Russian (cf. 6.5, 6.6), while a great many verbs are specifically Ukrainian (cf. 6.7, 6.8b, 6.10). Each of the above-mentioned groups can be documented by concrete verbal derivatives using all five basic Slavic suffixes, as demonstrated in sect. 7, which presents about one hundred Ukrainian units and their Russian, Polish, and Czech correspondences.

The linguistic form of transliteration and citation is used throughout the article.

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CERTAIN PARADIGMATIC ANOMALIES
IN THE HISTORY OF
UKRAINIAN ACCENTUATION

In one of the first attempts to account for the specific pattern of Ukrainian (hereafter U) stress, the symptomatic explanation was offered that "Ruthenian accentuation is more mobile than the Russian. It indicates the easily excitable frame of mind of the Little Russians."[1]

Some one hundred years later Vasilev 1981 systematized the movement of the stress in East Slavic in more modern terms as an overall shift to a root or an initial syllable, as in the instances of U *na bérih* "to the shore" – R (Russian) *ná bereg* (op.cit. 323) and U *rózmir* "dimension" – R *razmér* (op.cit. 321) respectively. In bases of at least three syllables, this can be a retraction either in the base with original mobile stress (U *náskok* "raid," etc.), or in the base with stem stress and a verbal prefix (U *prýlavok* "counter").[2]

Our immediate task must be to establish the basic accentual pattern before attempting to classify variations. For this purpose, our paper is based on the system of declensions and conjugations (accentological paradigms = AP) established in Stang 1958, which has since become the basis of all AP research. It is appropriate to point out that Stang's system of APs comprises all relevant Slavic word classes (in order: substantive, adjective, verbal system, and supinum). We shall take as cast iron Stang's treatment of the nominal declension and proceed in the first part of our treatment according to his sequence of APs, offering the following three types: (i) AP with stress fixed on the stem (barytone AP); (ii) AP with stress fixed on the ending (oxytone

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[1]"Die ruthenische Betonung ist beweglicher als die russische. Sie zeugt der leicht erregbaren Gemütstimmung der Kleinrussen." Ogonowski 1980.

[2]The number of syllables includes the ending, which might equal original Proto-Slavic (i.e., *b/naskok-ъ* = 3 syllables, *bog-ъ*, "god" = 2 syllables; cf. paradigm iiib below) or *-b* (*radost-b* "joy"). The subsequent loss of the final vowels *-ъ*, *-b* involved substantial changes in Slavic phonology and accentuation.

AP); (iii) AP with stress shifting between stem and ending (mobile AP).

(i) Barytone AP

Substantives come in three subtypes: (a) disyllables, cf. U *lýpa* "linden," *rák* (gen. *rák-a*) "crab," *dílo* "business, affair"; (b) polysyllables derived from radical stresses, cf. U *jáhoda* "berry," *rádist'* "joy"; and finally (c) all other polysyllables, cf. U *malýna* "raspberry," *jazýk* "tongue."

This study will be confined to dealing with the stress shift to the ending (oxytonization) of disyllables under (a), leaving polysyllables to the account of Vasilev's retractions. In order to tackle the former, Kolesov 1972 and his source material will be used.

The oxytonization of the barytone bases in Slavic is certainly old. Slonek 1979 quotes a handful of equivalents of Ukrainian words like *bidá* "trouble," *borozná* "furrow," *jizdá* "travel," *krasá* "beauty" (originally barytone AP) with a history of oxytonization as old as the notional common Balto-Slavic, cf. U *krasá* — Latvian *kârsts* "hot," a tone reserved in Latvian for retracted oxytones. On a more surface level, the general Slavist would recognize the shift as resulting in such homographs as U *múka—muká* "torment/flour," Belorussian *húba—hubá* "mushroom/lip."

Cases of oxytonization as a whole, however, will come under two paradigms in the accentological sources available to us: those under (i) (barytone AP) will be treated as stress displacements, whilst others under (ii) (oxytone AP) can only be isolated from "natural" (light-base) oxytones by revealing their, at least Balto-Slavic, etymology (cf. *travá* "grass"). It is proposed here to adhere to the exhaustive classification in Kolesov 1972.

Ukrainian words with oxytonization under the original (i) barytone AP are represented by a handful of feminine *a*-stems:
Ukrainian

Ukrainian	Common East Slavic	
hubá "lip"	——*	*"pitch differentiation"
plytá "slab"	PLÍTA	Belorussian *húba* "mushroom," *hubá* "lip," etc.
struná "string"	STRÚNA	
xulá "blasphemy"	XÚLA	

Ukrainian has no other declensional types in this category comparable to R *v raju* "in paradise," *dva časá* "two hours." Note, however, the U byform *dílo*, representing a medieval remnant of DELO.

(ii) Oxytone AP

Again, our enquiry focusses on disyllables, cf. *sestra* "sister," *byk* (gen. *byk-á*) "bull." As proposed above, we are looking for oxytones whose etymological root structure would identify them as barytone transfers. The list is more varied than in (i), which was limited only to *a*-stems, and is more substantial. The instances added in Kolesov 1972 and/or Slonek 1979 would be

Ukrainian	Common East Slavic/and other Slavic correspondences
bidá "trouble"	BEZ BĚDY
borozná "furrow"	R Church Slav BRÁZDU
duhá "arc"	Latvian *dañga* "pothole" (clearly barytonic)
jizdá "travel"	Lithuanian *jóti* "ride" (barytonic)
riká "river"	OGNÉNNAJA REKA "fire river" and other instances
stiná "wall"	late oxytonization: early 20th-century R *sténu/ná stenu*
travá "grass"	R dial. *trávy*, etc.
byk "bull"	long root *bū̆
hrix "sin"	barytone base in GRĚJǪ/GRĚTI "heat"
kljúč "key"	barytone in Latvian *klūt* "become"
plast "layer" *plašč* "cloak"	IE *plē — "wide," etc.
pryšč "pimple"	likewise self-evident long base
trut "tinder"[3]	barytone in Lithuanian *tréndu* "rot"

(iii) Mobile AP

According to Stang 1958, this paradigm is characterized by a retraction of accent in the dative, accusative, and vocative singular at least:

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[3]Corresponding to Proto-Slavic *trodъ* (but distinguished from U *trud* "work," Proto-Sl. *trud*); the /d/ in the above form is preserved in some derivations, cf. *trudovatity* "aufschewellen" (= "swell up") in Kuzela-Rudnyc'kyj, *Ukrainisch-deutsches Wörterbuch* (Wiesbaden, 1983), 1315.

Thus
Common East Slavic:

nom.		ZEMLJÅ̌	"earth"
gen.		ZEMLJĚ̌	
dat.			ZÉMLI
acc.			ZÉMLJU
voc.			ZÉMLJE
loc.		ZEMLÍ	
inst.		ZEMLÉJU	

(Paradigm iii a)

Ukrainian, up to approximately the end of its formative stage (17th century), shows a distinct oxytonization of this type:

Ukrainian	Other Slavic/correspondences
acc. *verstú* "verst"	
acc. *vynú* "blame"	
dat. *duší* "soul"	
acc. *zymú* "winter"	regular in South R
gen. *ikrý* "roe"	
acc. *lunú* "echo"	ancient Serbo-Croat Čakavian *lúnù*
acc. *pjatú* "heel" (Southern Psalter, 16th century)	
rudú "ore"	(vaccillation old, Serbo-Croat *rúdu/rûdu*)
rukú "hand"	(South R dialects)
strylú "arrow" (18th century U)	
cinú	(Belorussian *cenú*)

For the masculine *o*-stem, of all four reconstructions given by Kolesov (op. cit. p. 129), the oldest model (Sedláček) is the most convincing with reference to post-Stang paradigms:

nom.		BOGъ	"God"
gen.		BOGÁ	
dat.			BÓGU
acc.			BÓGъ
voc.			BÓŽE
loc.		BOŽĚ̌	etc.

(Paradigm iiib)

Oxytonization does not occur. As contemporary Slavic speakers must feel, retractions in this pattern onto the radical syllable are extremely common and fall under the scope of the second part of our discourse.

Stress retraction in East Slavic as outlined in Vasilev 1981 presents a picture of startling geographical and lexical homogeneity.

Geographically, retraction has affected roughly the southwestern isogloss area of medieval East Slavic, as opposed to the Muscovite vernacular (*prikaznoj jazyk*, etc.), which developed in the region under continuous Tatar control. Still more strikingly, with minute exceptions, all the material is made up of lexemes with verbal prefixes. As Vasilev 1981 points out, the U material indicates that the impetus to this retraction came from the adjacent linguistic areas in which this shift was automatic, i.e., from West Slavic dialects:

1) standard U — 38 examples of the type *víddil* "section," *nárid* "people," *rózpad* "breakup," etc.

2) standard Belorussian — 14 examples of the type *prýjacel'* "friend," *vódhalasak* "echo," *záslanka* "oven door" — cf. R *prijátel'*, *otgolósok*, *zaslónka*, etc.

3) Southwest Russian vernacular: 8 words of the type *záhadka* "riddle," *náčynka* "filling," *pótamu* "afterwards," cf. R *zagádka*, *načínka*, *potóm*.

4) Ukrainian dialects west of the central standard:

(a) general: 10 words of the type *póxid* "expedition," *vídrizok* "piece," *záduxa* "stuffiness" — cf. standard U *poxíd*, *vidrízok*, *zadúxa*.

(b) Subcarpathian (Western extremity): 8 words of the type *zástava* "gate," *dóstojnyj* "worthy," *óbid* "dinner" not found with a barytone elsewhere.

5) The survey finishes with examples of alternative (secondary) stress within standard Ukrainian: *hòlová* "head," *dòrohýj* "dear," *zòlotò* "gold," *pèredòvyký* "pioneers," *sỳrotá* "orphan" (with gravis [`] referring to the secondary stress, cf. *SULM* 1969, p. 360)

Our discussion, has of course, no pretensions to completeness: the object is merely to set out in the most general terms the main classifications underlying individual stress distribution in Ukrainian and to relate them feasibly to the diachronic paradigms available.

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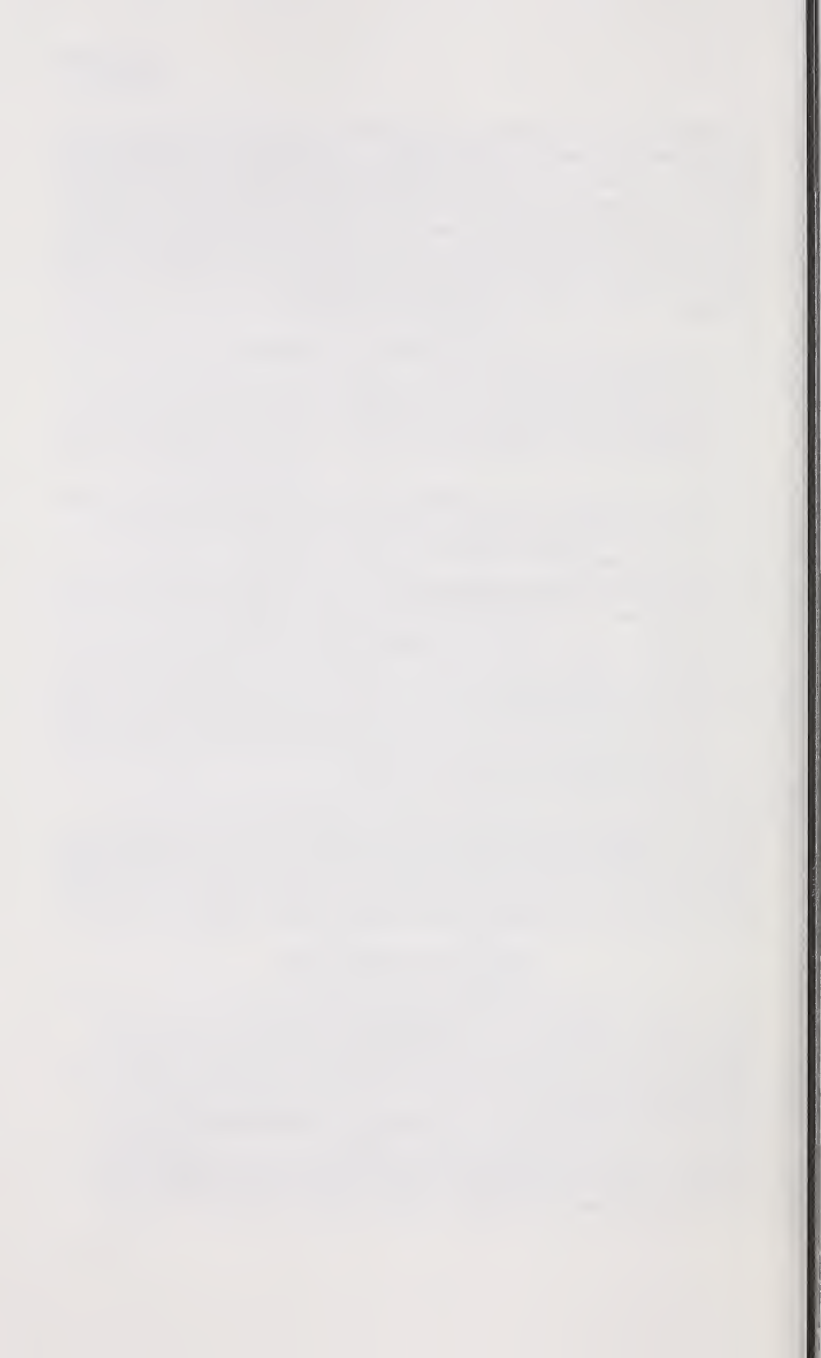
REVIEW ARTICLES

Jiří Marvan

VOJVODINA'S RUSINIAN AND ITS UKRAINIAN CONSTITUENT

S. Gustavsson. *Rusinerna i Jugoslavien, deras kultur och språk.* Institutionen for slaviska och baltiska språk, Stockholms Universitet, *Meddelanden* 13. Stockholm, 1975.

S. Gustavsson. "Rusinerna i Jugoslavien." *Nord nytt* 11 (Stockholm 1981): 67–76.

S. Gustavsson. "Ruski jazik u Juhoslaviji — dijaxronija i sinxronija." *Tvorčosc* 9, no. 9 (Novi Sad 1983): 20–30.

The language of the Rusinians[1] (own name: Rusnaci; Serbo-Croatian: Rusini) is now used by some 20,000 speakers in the autonomous region of Vojvodina in northern Serbia and by about 5,000 speakers in the adjacent part of Croatian Slavonia (cf. Gustavsson 1983, 8). The bulk of the Rusinians there left their original homeland, Hornjica (the Carpathian highlands) about 250 years ago and reached what today constitutes Vojvodina in the middle of the 18th century (Laboš 1979, 54ff.; Duličenko 1981, 11; Gustavsson 1983, 5).

Of the twelve Slavic literary microlanguages examined by Duličenko in his pioneering monograph,[2] Rusinian (henceforth Rn) seems to have been by far the luckiest. Being one of the official languages of Vojvodina (together with Serbo-Croatian, Slovak, Hungarian, and Rumanian), it performs all the functions of a

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[1] Thanks for materials and information are due to S. Gustavsson (University of Uppsala) and Mr. G. Kolesar, secretary of the Society for Rusinian Language and Literature in Novi Sad and the editor in chief of its scholarly periodical, *Svitlosc.*

[2] Duličenko 1981, 10–11 lists, besides Rusinian, seven South Slavic languages (four with a Croatian, two with a Slovenian, and one with a Bulgarian background), three West Slavic languages (Kashubian, Lachian in the Czech-Polish borderland, and now defunct East Slovak), and one East Slavic language (Ruthenian in the United States). Their number of users, if such data are available, ranges from less than 3,000 to 300,000 (Kashubian). The number of Rusinian speakers is of average size.
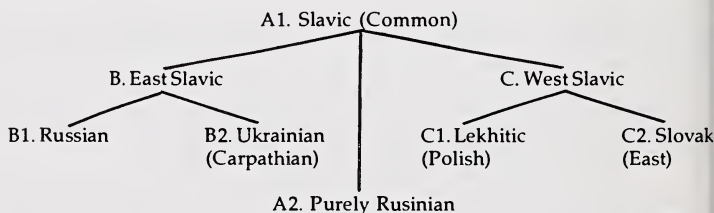
well-developed, standard language: it is used in the administration (both on the local and regional level, including in parliament and in the legislature), by the media (in periodicals, on the radio, and on a weekly TV program), in education (on the primary and secondary level and in the department of Rusinian Studies at Novi Sad University), in scholarly activities (a special journal and research society), and in the area of cultural and spiritual life (literature, folklore, the church).

Although, by its size, standard Rn is a microlanguage, it is at the same time, by the diversity of its functions, standardization, social status, and stylistic differentiation, a standard Slavic language. In this respect, the other micro-languages, as well as some standardized languages (Sorbian), have a much lower sociolinguistic status (cf. Gustavsson 1983, 26).

The three publications by S. Gustavsson are for Rn as a linguistic subject at least as important as Duličenko's monograph. They will be discussed not as an isolated phenomenon, but, rather, within the framework of an emerging discipline, which might be called "Rusinian studies." At the same time, special attention will be paid to problems dealing with the Ukrainian linguistic component in Rn.

Root of Rusinian – Theories and Facts

The theories concerning the linguistic origin of Rn ("Proto-Rusinian" at the beginning of the 18th century) can be summarized in the following "genetic" diagram:

A1. Slavic (Common)

B. East Slavic

C. West Slavic

B1. Russian

B2. Ukrainian (Carpathian)

C1. Lekhitic (Polish)

C2. Slovak (East)

A2. Purely Rusinian

Not all of them are acceptable by modern linguistic criteria (cf. Gustavsson 1983, 21ff.).

Theory A1 is the most "romantic" concept. It projects synchronic multiplicity (with West, East and South Slavic constituents) as the original phenomenon, thus implying the "Proto-Slavic" character of Rn (Gustavsson 1983, 23).

Theory A2 is the "average native speaker's interpretation." According to it, Rusinians are a separate ethnic entity (reflected in the official Yugoslav censuses of 1971 and 1981). Consequently, their language is, in the same way, a fact per se and does not need to be interpreted in a broader context (ibid.).

Theory B1 is a well-known but outdated (traditional Great Russian) concept that interprets East Slavic as a unified diasystem with several dialect standardizations (standard languages), such as Belorussian and Ukrainian, as well as Rusinian (ibid.). Unlike theory A1, it is important, because Rusinian and its

commonly recognized written version, Church Slavonic, are used in the standardization of Rn (cf. Kočiš 1978, 25).

Theory C1 uses certain properties, such as prosodic features (penultimate stress with loss of quantity), to claim the Lekhitic origin of Rn (Stieber, cf. Gustavsson 1983, 21). Since these features are shared by East Slovak, however, the suggestion has been abandoned.

From the point of view of modern linguistics, only the two remaining theories, B2 and C2, or their combination (B2/C2) can be contemplated.

Theory B2 originated with the Galician ethnographer Volodymyr Hnatjuk, who in 1897 brought the attention of the Slavic scholarly public to Rn. In the discussion to follow, he defended the unambiguous Ukrainian origin of Rn (cf. Gustavsson 1981, 69). Hnatjuk had only a few non-Rusinian followers between the two world wars, e.g., Tichý (who believed that Rn is a "Lemko subdialect"; see Tichý 1938, 42). More recently his views have been held by N. Tolstoj, J. Dzendzelivs'kyj (Švagrovský 1984, 262; Gustavsson 1983, 23), and Koval' 1967 (cf. also Tamaš 1984, 12). This theory is officially held by Rusinian scholars.

Theory C2 was the immediate response of philologists to Hnatjuk's contribution. Its proponents (the Czech Pastrnek, the Russian Sobolevskij, the Norwegian Broch, the Slovak Czambel) were squarely in favor of the East Slovak origin of Rn (cf. Gustavsson 1983, 24, and Tamaš 1984, 12; for more about the discussion at the turn of century, cf. Švagrovský 1984, 257–58). No serious interest in this theory was shown in the interwar period, with the exception of scholars in Czechoslovakia, where there was a developing interest in Carpatho-Ukraine (cf. Gustavsson 1975, 4). Later the discussion was revived, with results clearly in favor of the East Slovak theory (as, e.g., in Bidwell in 1966, cf. Birnbaum 1983, 12).

Theory B2/C2 is advanced by Duličenko 1981, 111, and such scholars as Horbatsch ("Übergans - und Mischdialekt," cf. Birnbaum 1983, 12), Stieber, and Király (cf. Tamaš 1984, 12). According to them, is is impossible to draw a clear line between East and West Slavic. Alternatively, both possibilities are left open in Gustavsson 1975, 24. A more sophisticated and theoretically interesting variant of this theory is the concept of a Carpathian language "community" (*Sprachbund,* cf. Gustavsson 1983, 21; Birnbaum 1984, 2, 15), which would easily explain the mixed character of Rusinian. Even more attractive for linguistic speculation is the possibility of dialectal "reintegration" (a term used by Birnbaum, ibid.). Such a process basically implies that the Proto-Rusinians in Hornjica underwent a "preliterate ... dialect switching from East to West Slavonic" (Birnbaum 1982, 24) because of the higher social status of the latter (Gustavsson 1983, 24). This opinion was held by Broch and Sobolevskij (ibid.) and, in the postwar period, by Bernshtejn (op. cit. 21). It is now held by Birnbaum 1983, 15, who states "we can assume that the forebears of the present-day *Rusini* had perhaps taken on a number of diagnostic phonological characteristics from their (West Slavic) linguistic environment, thus essentially shifting from an at first East Slavic to a West Slavic form of speech."

This theory seems to explain why the Rusinians themselves clearly insist on theory B2, that is, on the East Slavic origin of their language. The only problem is that there is no sound proof that Rn was indeed East Slavic before it underwent Slovakization.

An alternative, nonlinguistic solution is simple and free of these contradictions: it was not a language shift toward East Slavic, but a confession (Uniate Catholic) expansion towards West Slavic that took place in Hornjica. Consequently the Rusinians brought to their new South Slavic homeland their Uniate (East Slavic) confession and their East Slovak (West Slavic) vernacular.[3]

Having reached this conclusion — which, after all, corresponds with the historical data — there seems to be no problem and no quarrel at all, at least among non-Rusinians. Hnatjuk himself, as an inadvertent initiator of the discussion, intuitively accepted this solution; he, in fact, examined the Slovak element in the Uniate church (cf. Švagrovský 1984, 257) and, at the same time, identified Rusinians through criteria that would squarely fall into the category of confession without touching the actual vernacular (ibid.).

Towards a Definition of "Proto-Rusinian"

Gustavsson's three contributions reflect well the final crystallization of opinion concerning the linguistic origins of Rn. In his 1975 work, Gustavsson states that it is a matter of future research to "establish whether Rusinian is an East or West Slavic language" (fastställa om rusinskan är ett öst- eller västslaviskt språk"). Six years later one section in his 1981 article is called simply "Rusinskan — ett västslaviskt språk."

Gustavsson's 1983 article represents a historical shift in the study of Rn. Until its appearance, the East Slavic (hence Ukrainian) origin of the Rusinians was an untouchable and indivisible (religion=language) axiom of their ethnic self-image and self-identification. With new clarity, Gustavsson presents the theory of their West Slavic origin.

The study provides a valuable and refreshingly updated survey of the theories of the origin of Rn, calling them Rusinophile (our category A2), Ukrainophile (B2), Russophile (B1), and Slovakophile (C2) (see Gustavsson 1983, 22ff. and tables 27–28). It develops its Slovakophile theory using phonological data (ibid., 24ff. and table 2, 28–29, abbreviated; Ukr=Ukrainian, Slk=Slovak):

1. kv/gv — Slk, Rn *kvet*, Ukr *cvit/kvit* "flower"
2. $\check{s}/s$ — Slk, Rn *vše-*, Ukr *vse* "all" (applies to so-called 2nd and 3rd palatalization)
3. $dl,tl/l$ — Slk, Rn *modlic, plietla*, Ukr *molyty(sja), plela* "pray," "she knitted"
4. $\emptyset/l$ — Slk, Rn *sypeš*, Ukr *sypleš* "you shower, spill"
5. ra/oro — Slk *dráha*, Rn *draha*, Ukr *doroha* "road"
   le/olo — Slk, Rn *mlieko*, Ukr *moloko* "milk"

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[3] These two components must be kept firmly apart to avoid the danger described in Birnbaum 1982, 23: "Given their [the Rusinians'] cultural-religious heritage — they are predominantly Greek-Catholic or Uniate — and, consequently, their self-image with regard to ethnic identity, their tongue has by many been considered of East Slavonic stock at its root (cf. also their use of a slightly modified Cyrillic script), with West and, less so, South Slavonic as secondary admixtures.

6. c/č — Slk, Rn *noc*, Ukr *nič* "night"
7. je-/o- — Slk, *jeseň*, Rn *ješeň*, Ukr *osiń'* "autumn"

This is, of course, only a springboard for further analysis, as not all arguments are equally strong. Thus, feature 1 has so few examples, that any borrowing (as is the case of Ukr *kvit*) might obscure the substance. The same might apply to feature 7 (cf. Dezső 1967, 150: the numeral *jeden* "one" penetrated into Ruthenian territory in the 16th and 17th century, gradually replacing the East Slavic *odyn*). But even the "crown jewel" of the argumentation, feature 5, is not beyond reproach. Tichý 1938, 41 shows, using rhyming in Ruthenian proper, how the original form *dorože* (to rhyme *ne bože* "poor one") was replaced by the form *draže*. He suggests either a Church Slavonic or a West Slavic implant with additional examples (*brada* "beard" ibid., *kratko* "shortly," even *krava/korova* "cow," *pred/pered* "before," p. 43), clearly favoring the other alternative.

The substance of Gustavsson's argument is sound but, obviously, requires additional research. More importantly, it strongly suggests that the argument should be expanded by examining another comparable area — inflection.

Rusinian Inflectional Morphology (Form-building)

Inflection is an important criterion, as some scholars, notably Birnbaum 1983, 13, have discovered Ukrainian inflectional traits in Rn.

The pronoun *tot* "that," with its East Slavic analogy *tot*, seems a particularly strong argument (Gustavsson 1983, 24 tries to weaken it by claiming its later origin). However, it is, in fact, an East Slovak feature. The segment *to-*, unlike in East Slavic, is not the result of reduplication and vocalization (yielding *t/o/t*), but plainly the demonstrative "prefix," used in all direct forms, *to-ta* fem., *to-tu* fem. acc., *to-to* neut., *to-ti* pl. (Gustavsson 1975, 40); this yields the stem *tot-* with regular inflection, cf. *von, von-a, von-o, von-i* "he, she, it, they" (ibid., 39). More importantly, the same model is known in East Slovak (form *tot* in Germer, cf. Arany 1936, 56; forms *tot-a, tot-o, tot-e* pl. in Miskolc, cf. Sipos 1958, 180).

Another case with a potentially East Slavic feature — *dobr-oho* gen., *dobr-omu* dat. "good" — is dealt with in a similar manner. Birnbaum finds it important, while Gustavsson considers it secondary. This case is a much harder problem to solve indeed, as the factual arguments indicate that only East Slavic has these forms (for East Slovak, cf. *dobrieho* Arany 1936, 61; *dobreho* Sipos 1958, 179). Here we have to go deeper into history.

According to Marvan 1979, 25ff., by the 12th to 13th century Slavic territory split into contracting and non-contracting areas, and East Slovak and West Ukrainian appeared on opposite sides. Features identifying contracting languages are, for example, the verbal ending *-m* in 1sg (cf. Polish *zna-m* "I know" vs. Ukr *zna-ju*) and *-ego* in adjectives (cf. Polish *dobr-ego* vs. Ukr *dobr-oho*). Rn displays only the first feature, and does so consistently (*-m*, is, unlike in Czech and Polish but as in Slovak and Serbo-Croatian, universal). The other feature is less relevant, as some contraction languages use *-/o/go*, etc., as well (Serbo-Croatian *dobr-oga, dobr-omu*). *The relevant segment -/o/*, according to consensus, is a result of later integration with the pronoun (*t-/o/go*, etc., cf. Marvan 1979, 30, and Gustavsson 1983, 24). The mutual influence between both classes is known in Slovak (*dobr-/o/m* loc.,

from *t-om, t-eho* gen., *t-emu* dat., from *dobr-eho, dobr-emu;* cf. Sipos 1958, 179). There is no time limit to linking Rn forms with East Slavic. At the same time Rn must be a contracting language; this means that its eastern border within the West Slavic area was drawn by the 13th century.[4]

Birnbaum (loc.cit.) suggests some intrinsically Rn forms "not shared by any of the closely related Slavic languages, e.g., the generalized ending *-ox* in the gen.pl." (e.g., *od ukrajinc-ox, žen-ox,* etc.). The Rusinian linguist Kočiš is more careful, stating that "po tim še naša bešeda rozlikuje od šickix sučasnix literaturnix [sic] slavjanskix jazikox" ("by this our speech is distinguished from all modern Slavic literary languages," Kočiš 1978, 53), and demonstrates that the same feature is shared by West-Carpathian dialects (Kočiš 1978, 55). This should support the "Ukrainophile" theory — whose advocate, like other Rusinians, Kočiš is — and at the same time would mean a serious blow for Gustavsson's "Slovakophile" theory based on phonological data only. Fortunately, the same feature is shared by the adjacent Slovak area (Sipos 1958: *plot-ox* "fences," 167, *žen-ox* "women," 171, etc.; in Gemer a clear-cut line between Slovak subdialects with and without *-ox* is recorded, cf. *dub-och / dub-ow* "oaks," *žen-och / žien,* cf. Arany 1936, 48, 51).

On one hand, the ending *-ox* is an interesting isogloss of the West-East Slavic border area that might have some importance for the theory of Proto-Rusinian. On the other hand, this case is a graphic example of the dangers of "Rn distinction enthusiasm": the same trait might serve as proof of the uniqueness of Rusinian (A2 theory in Birnbaum 1983), Ukrainian origin (B2 theory in Kočiš 1978), or even Slovak origin (C2 theory in Švagrovský 1983, 261–62).

Clearly, Rn inflection with its Slavic correspondences (as investigated by Pastrnek, Kočiš, Švagrovský, and Birnbaum) is now crucial for the final linguistic definition of Proto-Rusinian.

The Ukrainian Constituent of Rusinian

Gustavsson is the only non-Rusinian scholar systematically dealing with the social context of modern Rn (Gustavsson 1975, 1–2 and 17–25; 1981, 72–73) and its future (Gustavsson 1975, 25–26; the same, extended text in 1981, 74–75).

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[4] There are some modern Carpathian forms with *-m* in 1sg, such as *spivam* "I sing," *dumam* "I think," cf. Marvan 1979, 30, but they are rare, fresh, and implanted in the same way as we observe it, e.g., in Macedonian. According to Dezső 1967, 152, the relevant contraction is still a rare case there in the 16th and 17th century, and the 1sg is not known at all.

The consequences of the prehistoric contraction constitute in modern languages a substantial corpus of distinctive features defining Rusinian as a West Slavic vernacular. Thus, e.g., one of the consequences of the West Slavic contraction is fixed stress. This was the case of "Proto-Rusinian" (penultimate stress) 250 years ago when its speakers were migrating from Hornjica southwards. In Carpatho-Ukrainian dialects, on the other hand, the speakers still display a discernible tendency toward (non-standard, hence inherent) mobility of stress; see Slonek 1985.

Language engineering ("budovanie jazyka") in Rusinian is mentioned in passing by Švagrovský 1984, 261.

Despite the modest interest among non-Rusinian linguists, these problems are crucial: first, they are central for Rusinian scholars, "insiders" (cf. Kočiš 1978, 21–30, lexicology 102–110, graphics 148-74, teaching methods and aids 270–87); second, the Ukrainian component in Rn is largely the final product of these extralinguistic conditions.

Traditionally, the Ukrainian component within the West Slavic (= Proto-Rusinian) vernacular is interpreted not as a genetic fact, but rather as a typological construct in which the "multidimensional" character (with a West, East, and, of course, South Slavic component) can be accomodated (Birnbaum 1983, 17). The genetic interpretation suits the West Slavic component only, while the typological classification, taking place normally within the geographically continuous language community (*Sprachbund*), accomodates the Serbo-Croatian component.

Clearly, neither of these definitions suits the Ukrainian constituent in Rn. Or more exactly, both are equally suitable or unsuitable, simply because the standard linguistic and sociolinguistic theory does not seem to be properly equipped for the "tridimensional" complexity of Rn.

In fact, it is. The famous refinement of the Balto-Slavic conception, accounting for certain intrinsic differences, simply constructed a period of reintegration of both genetically related systems about two thousand years ago. The same is true, after all, of Ukrainian, which, although it is an East Slavic language, later develops certain indisputably genetic features that are shared not by the East, but by the West Slavic area only (Marvan 1983). Using the same criteria, it is not any more difficult to define the Ukrainian component in Rn: it is the product of close genetic proximity as a precondition and a social (not geographic) association; it is, in other words, an intersection of linguistic (genetic) and extralinguistic (social) factors. If we define the Serbo-Croatian constituent as a (predominantly) geographic, hence extralinguistic, phenomenon, the tridimensional structure can be defined as follows:

	Factors	
Constituents	Linguistic	Extralinguistic
West Slavic (East Slovak)	+	
East Slavic (Ukrainian)	+	+
South Slavic (Serbo-Croatian)		+

The central position of Ukrainian in the existence of modern Rusinian is obvious.

To demonstrate the functions of all three constituents, let us use the most elemental level, phonology/graphics.

(i) The Slovak constituent, being the spoken vernacular, is reflected on the phonological level. In fact, the standard (!) Slovak and Rn phonological inventory

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(apart from no quantity in Rn) is virtually identical (Gustavsson 1975, 29). The lack of quantity is shared by Rn and Ukrainian, but otherwise the phonology of the latter is richer: Ukrainian has the opposition y/i, extensive softness correlation (s:s', z:z', r:r'), and consonant length (as in *žy/ttj/a* "life," *obly/ččj/a* "face," *ll/je* "he pours").

(ii) At the same time, Ukrainian graphics — owing to close genetic links — is very suitable; in fact, it is the most suitable Cyrillic system available. Following this, Rn graphics is almost identical: it contains all the Ukrainian letters except *i*, sharing with it all its other distinctive features (cf. Gustavsson 1975, 28): *je, ji, g, 'o, jo.*

The linguistic factor underlying the Ukrainian constituent is the close genetic proximity and phonological suitability of Ukrainian graphics. The extralinguistic factor for using Ukrainian graphics is the confessional identity and its cultural consequences, including the use of the Cyrillic script in the church in the preliterary period (cf. n.3). The introduction of the written representation transformed the spoken vernacular into a literary language. This status is shared by Rn with other microlanguages.

(iii) Unlike the other microlanguages, Rn performs the tasks of an official language (in Vojvodina); in this respect it is a standard Slavic language. To cope with these tasks, which are specific to Yugoslavia, Serbo-Croatian is a natural choice as a model. On the level of graphics, this does not affect the representation of phonemes and words (which is the task of the Ukrainian constituent), but rather higher entities (clauses, sentences, the organization of longer texts). To demonstrate one of these aspects, punctuation ("syntactic graphics"), let us examine the following sentence, found in Gustavsson 1983, 25:

> Triman že toto co som vinjesol u podpolnosci dostatočne že bi še dokazalo že še ruski jazik u Jugoslaviji javja jak zaxodnoslavjanski jazik, i že pripada vostočnoslovackomu dijalektu.

(I believe / that (this) / that I presented / (is) completely sufficient / to prove / that the Rusinian language in Yugoslavia appears to be a West Slavic language and that (it) belongs to the East Slovak dialect).

The symbol / marks the position where a comma would be used by "continental standards," that is, in such languages as Ukrainian, Slovak, or German. As we see, Rn punctuation is different, because it uses the Serbo-Croatian model.

The stratification of Rn is particularly obvious in the lexicon. The Slovak layer is associated with the environment, which does not require the written language (e.g., the family); the Ukrainian layer is associated with the social life of a standard native speaker (cf. at school, in newspapers, in popular literature); while the Serbo-Croatian layer corresponds to the task of Rn as an official language. Because of sufficient distinctions between the words in all three layers, their research and classification is possible and, at the same time, useful, even for the general theory of language.

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Jindra Hrnčířová-Potter

UKRAINIAN STUDIES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA BETWEEN THE WORLD WARS

MILAN KUDELKA, ZDENĚK ŠIMEČEK, VLADISLAV ŠTASTNÝ, AND RADO-
SLAV VEČERKA, *ČESKOSLOVENSKÁ SLAVISTIKA V LETECH 1918–1939.*
Prague: Academia, 1977. 469 pp.

This study is a substantial, well-documented, and well-indexed guide to Slavic
studies in Czechoslovakia between the two world wars. It describes the
institutional framework of the discipline and its periodicals, systematically
presents trends and achievements in separate subdisciplines (linguistics, literary
scholarship, and ethnography) and related fields, and records the contributions
of individual Slavists. It is proposed here to survey the data therein insofar as they
relate to Ukrainian scholarship, which in interwar Czechoslovakia was both
quantitatively and qualitatively significant.[1]

Tertiary Institutions, Research Activities, and Periodicals
    The presence of Ukrainian émigrés in Czechoslovakia and the incorpora-
tion of Carpatho-Ukraine into the new independent republic stimulated the
development of Ukrainian studies. Their actual start is closely connected with the
transfer of the Ukrainian Free University (Ukrainskyi vilnyi universytet) from
Vienna to Prague in 1921 and with the foundation of other tertiary institutions:
the Ukrainian Pedagogical Institute (Ukrainskyi vysokyi pedahohichnyi instytut

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[1]The book under discussion does not demonstrate this significance
statistically. Available data on the number of Ukrainian émigré publications
present the following distribution:

Country	No. of books	Percentage
Czechoslovakia/Protectorate	1,711	43
Germany	1,070	27
Austria	670	17
Poland	180	5
Switzerland	119	3
France	115	3
Other	71	2
Total	3,936	100

Source: Volodymyr Maruniak, "Vydavnycha diialnist ukrainskoi emigratsii
v ChSR/Protektorati v 1900–1945 rr.," in *Symbolae in honorem Volodymyri
Janiw,* ed. Oleksa Horbatsch (Munich, 1983), 673.

im. M. Drahomanova) and the Ukrainian School of Plastic Arts (Ukrainska studiia plastychnoho mystetstva) in Prague in 1923, and the Ukrainian Husbandry Academy (Ukrainska hospodarska akademiia) in Podebrady in 1922.

At the same time, Ukrainian studies were developing outside the framework of Ukrainian institutions as well. Charles University introduced Ukrainian language and literature into the syllabus in 1926; the Institute of Commerce (Vysoká skola obchodní) in Prague offered the Ukrainian language during the 1920s; and the Research Board for Slovakia and Subcarpathian Ruthenia (Sbor pro výzkum Slovenska a Podkarpatské Rusi) was established by the Slavic Research Institute (Slovanský ústav) in Prague to conduct research on various Carpatho-Ukrainian topics. In 1935 a lectureship in Ukrainian was established at the Prague German University. The first lecturer was P. Savicky; he was later joined by J.B. Rudnyc̆kyj.

Most Ukrainian scholarly societies and other institutions were concentrated in two centers: in Prague and in Uzhhorod, the capital of Carpatho-Ukraine. About ten societies are mentioned in the book. In Prague, the Ukrainian Historical and Philological Society (Ukrainske istorychno-filolohichne tovarystvo) was the most active association; it concentrated on Ukrainian culture, history, and language. In Uzhhorod, it was Prosvita, whose members were interested mainly in dialectology and ethnography. Some of these institutions published their own periodicals: *Naukovyi zbirnyk Ukrainskoho vilnoho universytetu v Prazi* (three volumes between 1923 and 1942) in Prague; and *Naukovyi zbirnyk tovarystva Prosvita, Podkarpatska Rus,* and *Karpatskii svet* in Uzhhorod. In Mukachevo, the Ethnographic Society of Subcarpathian Ruthenia (Etnohrafichne tovarystvo Pidkarpatskoi Rusy) was founded in 1935.

During the 1920s, the Ukrainian National Archive (Ukrainskyi narodnyi arkhiv) was organized in Prague; it held a collection of documents of the Ukrainian national movement in addition to other archives.

These data on Ukrainian organizational achievements appear in the first two chapters of the book, together with information about the activities of other ethnic groups (mainly Czechs, but also Slovaks, Germans, and Russian émigrés). It is interesting to note that, in the opinion of the authors, Ukrainian studies received more attention in Czechoslovakia between the two world wars than did Russian studies.

Scholarly Disciplines and Their Representatives

The first two chapters are followed by a concise survey of all the disciplines in Slavic studies — linguistics, literary scholarship, ethnography, history, philosophy, and art history.

The Ukrainian linguists in Czechoslovakia continued research they had begun in Ukraine. In some fields (phonology, morphology, onomastics, and dialectology) new research was undertaken. The interests of Stepan Smal-Stotsky (1859–1939), a lecturer at the Institute of Commerce (Vysoká skola obchodní), involved both linguistics and literature; he authored *Hramatyka ukrainskoi-ruskoi movy* (Lviv, 1928), as well as several studies on Ukrainian phonetics. Smal-Stotsky was succeeded at the institute by Vasyl Simovych (1880–1944), whose main areas of interest were phonology, morphology, and ono-mastics; he also authored a grammar, *Hramatyka ukrainskoi movy,* (Ratstaat, 1918 and 1920).

One of the most prominent Ukrainian linguists was Ivan Pankevych (1887–1958). After studying at the universities of Lviv and Vienna, he was a secondary-school teacher in Uzhhorod before becoming a lecturer in Ukrainian at Charles University. His school grammar, the first codification of standard Ukrainian, and numerous preliminary studies on Carpatho-Ukrainian phonetics and morphology were succeeded by the analysis and classification of Carpatho-Ukrainian dialects in his monumental *Ukrainski hovory Pidkarpatskoi Rusi i sumezhnych oblastei - I: Zvuchannia i morfologiia* (Prague, 1938).

Other scholars who contributed to the study of Carpatho-Ukrainian were Vladimir Frantsev, the author of *K voprosu o literaturnom iazyke Podkarpatskoi Rusi* (Uzhhorod, 1924); and Hiiador Strypsky, who wrote a history of the 19th century controversy concerning a standard language. This controversy was not only a matter of history, but also a practical problem in Subcarpathian Ruthenia. Czechs (A. Hartl, J. Polívka, F. Tichý) as well as Ukrainians (A. Gagatko, I. Husnai, A. Voloshyn) contributed to the discussion. The actual status quo was described by Georgii Gerovsky in "Jazyk Podkarpatské Rusi" in *Ceskoslovenská vlastiveda* 3 (Prague, 1934) and by Frantisek Tichý in *Vývoj soucasného spisovného jazyka na Podkarpatské Rusi* (Prague, 1938).

The most outstanding literary scholar was the first professor of Ukrainian at Charles University, Oleksander Kolessa (1867–1945). His extensive interests included Ukrainian ethnology, Czech-Ukrainian relations, and medieval Ukrainian writing. The poetry of Taras Shevchenko was the subject of studies by such Ukrainians as Leonyd Biletsky (1882–1955), author of *Poetychna evoliutsiia naiholovnishykh obraziv ta idei T. Shevchenka* (Prague, 1929), and Stepan Smal-Stotsky, author of *T. Shevchenko: Interpretatsii* (Warsaw, 1934). Biletsky also wrote on the theoretical aspects of Ukrainian poetry and literary criticism; his main contribution was *Ukrainska narodna poeziia* (Prague, 1928).

Significant scholarly contributions were made by the Ukrainian member of the "Prague circle," Dmytro Chyzhevsky (1894–1977). A professor at the Ukrainian Pedagogical Institute and the Ukrainian Free University, he was a literary historian with a broad range of interests not only in Ukrainian literature, but also in Russian and Czech literature (particularly the works of Dostoevsky, Gogol, Pushkin, and the Czech educator Comenius). A similar figure was Hryhorii Omelchenko, whose interests were focussed on the literature of the host country (notably K.H. Borovský and his relationship to Ukrainian culture). He also prepared and published a new edition of Ivan Franko's poetry. During his stay in Czechoslovakia, Iuliian Iavorsky (1873–1937) collected data on Carpatho-Ukrainian literature. Between 1929 and 1936 he authored three books: *Natsionalnoe samosoznanie Karpatorussov na rubezhe XVIII-XIX vv.* (Uzhhorod, 1929), *Novyia rukopisnyia nakhodki v oblasti starinnoi karpatorusskoi pismennosti XVI-XVIII vv.* (Prague, 1931), and *Materialy dlia istorii starinnoi pesennoi literatury v Podkarpatskoi Rusi* (Prague, 1936). Czech scholars who studied Ukrainian history included Antonin Hartl and Frantisek Tichý, who concentrated on Carpatho-Ukrainian literature, its relation to the Czech literary tradition, and broader Ukrainian-Slavic relations.

Ukrainian historians in Czechoslovakia regarded as their main task the collection of data that would lead to a deeper understanding of Carpatho-Ukraine. The most significant historian among the émigrés was Dmytro

Doroshenko (1882–1951), a lecturer in Ukrainian history at Charles University. The position of Ukraine among the European countries and its historical relations with Poland, Germany, The Austro-Hungarian Empire, Bohemia, and Slovakia were the focus of his attention. His works include the important *Narys istorii Ukrainy* (2 vols., Warsaw, 1932–33). Doroshenko influenced younger Ukrainian historians, such as Symon Narizhny and Panas Fedenko, and closely cooperated with Czech scholars. Together with Jaroslav Bidlo, while attempting to present a synthesis of Slavic history, he discussed the concept of East European history and, especially, the delimitation of Ukrainian and Russian history; with the acclaimed orientalist J. Rypka, he worked on Ukrainian-Turkish relations.

The list of historians of Carpatho-Ukraine also includes Ievhen Perfetsky (1888–1947), a lecturer in Carpatho-Ukrainian history at Comenius University (Bratislava) and author of a survey of the history of Subcarpathian Ruthenia; Vasyl Hadzhega (1864-1938), the author of *Mykhail Luchkai: Zhytiepys i tvory* (Uzhhorod, 1929); and Irenei Kondratovych (1878-1957), the author of the popular *Istoriia Podkarpatskoi Rusy dlia naroda* (Uzhhorod, 1924).

The history of law was studied by Andrii Iakovliv (1872–1955), who demonstrated historical analogies between Ukrainian and West Slavic (Czech) law in *Vplyvy starocheskoho prava na pravo ukrainske lytovskoi doby XV-XVI vv.* (Prague, 1929) and examined the reception of German Law in Ukraine in the 16th and 17th century.

There was considerable interest in the socioeconomic history of Carpatho-Ukraine. (In the new state this had its practical implications.) Thus, Oleksander Mytsiuk (1883–1943), who worked from 1921 at the Ukrainian Free University, authored *Narysy z sotsiialno-hospodarskoi istorii b. Uhorskoi, nyny Pidkarpatskoi Rusy* (2 vols., Uzhhorod, 1936–38). I. Markov limited his research to the socially relevant problem of unwritten law, which is the subject of his monograph *K dejinam obycejového práva na Podkarpatské Rusi* (Brno, 1932); he also published some materials on the constitutional history of this area. The first scholar to bring the attention of the Czech and European public to the art monuments of Carpatho-Ukraine was Volodymyr Zalozetsky (1896–1959), the author of *Gotische und barocke Holzkirchen in den Karpathenländern* (Vienna, 1926). Art history was also the main area of interest for Volodymyr Sichynsky (1894–1962) and Dmytro Antonovych (1877–1945). In what was to be a series on contemporary Ukrainian art, Antonovych published *Les artistes du studio de Prague — Grupa prazhskoi studii* (Prague, 1925).

Ethnology was the subject of researches by V.V. Sakhanev (1885–1940) and the linguist Ivan Pankevych.

Ceskoslovenská slavistica is worthy of attention as an important source of information on the development of Ukrainian scholarship during the interwar years. If for Western-oriented Russian émigrés the Czech milieu and experience was important for the development of their ideology, then for Ukrainians it was something more. The Czechs of this period, according to their first president, T.G. Masaryk, were in no position to advance the idea of Ukrainian nationhood and national identity — they had, after all, their own identity problem vis-à-vis the Slovaks — but they offered support, both moral and practical, which helped Ukrainians do this by themselves. It is clear from the data presented in this book that during its Czechoslovak episode, Ukrainian scholarship received a major

boost in image and self-esteem and took the first step toward being recognized in the West as an international discipline.

Sonia Maryn

UKRAINIAN-CANADIAN WOMEN IN TRANSITION: FROM CHURCH BASEMENT TO BOARD ROOM*

The theme of this conference — "Hidden or Known Ukrainians" — is an important one. Your purpose — to draw greater numbers of young people into the Ukrainian community and to raise their awareness of how they can contribute to its development, both as members of it *per se* and as members of the mainstream society — is extremely valuable. It is also integrally linked to the topic I wish to touch upon this evening.

The year 1984 marked the 100th anniversary of the Ukrainian Women's Movement. The movement was founded at a congress of Ukrainian women held in Stanyslaviv, Galicia on 8 December 1884.[1] Natalia Kobrynska, a noted literary figure and women's activist, was one of the movement's founders and foremost proponents. Kobrynska's almanac, *Pershyi vinok* (the First Wreath) voiced several of the concerns of the early Ukrainian women's movement.[2] Many of the subjects raised in the almanac, such as women's status in society; daycare; language; cultural and educational work; international feminism; and the relationship of feminism to the national question, remain topical to this day. They are as relevant to our generation as they were to Kobrynska's a century ago.

Yet, the history and concerns of the Ukrainian women's movement, both in the nineteenth and twentieth century, are largely unknown — even within our own community. (One might comment that this is an instance of "hidden" Ukrainians on rather a massive scale.) But these are Ukrainian women of the past. What of contemporary Ukrainian-Canadian women? How do they fare in the community? Are their concerns "hidden" or "known"? Are their efforts "hidden"

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* Text of an address delivered at the regional conference of the Ukrainian Canadian Students Union, held 15-18 February 1985 in Saskatoon.

[1] Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak, "Feminism in Ukrainian History," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 7, no. 1 (1982): 21.

[2] See Natalia Kobrynska and Olena Pchilka, eds., *Pershyi vinok* (Lviv, 1887; reprint, New York, 1984).

or "known"? Are they serving the community in board rooms or in church basements?

If Ukrainian Canadians in general have evolved greatly in the past fifty years, Ukrainian-Canadian women have undergone what amount to startling changes within this same time frame. A thorough analysis of this process is impeded by a serious dearth of material.[3] As pointed out by Marusia Petryshyn, Canadian women's studies have focussed little attention on the study of immigrant women, and almost none has been paid to the question of minority women and women within ethnocultural groups. Conversely, ethnocultural-group studies deal little with women's history. Moreover, existing studies of social transitions among Ukrainian Canadians, with very few exceptions, treat our community as male-defined and neglect the specific experiences of women.[4] Despite these obstacles, some salient observations can be made.

The last fifty years have seen a notable shift from rural to urban residence for Ukrainians in Canada. Ukrainian women, too, have been affected by this trend. Although there is still a larger proportion of Ukrainian-Canadian women on farms than there is of Canadian women generally, the percentage of Ukrainian-Canadian women living in cities today is roughly equivalent to that of all Canadian women. Not surprisingly, the greatest population shift from rural to urban centers among Ukrainian-Canadian women has occurred in Alberta and Saskatchewan.[5]

A significant factor influencing the present status of Ukrainian women in Canada is the percentage of those who are foreign-born. The overwhelming majority of Ukrainian women living in Canada today are Canadian-born. In 1971, 87.6 percent of Ukrainian women in Alberta and 87.8 percent of those in Saskatchewan were Canadian-born.[6] Undoubtedly, these figures have risen in the last decade.

A rural-urban demographic shift and the increase in Canadian-born population, however, are consistent among Ukrainian men and women. Truly dramatic differences are seen in the education and work-participation levels of Ukrainian-Canadian women.

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[3] This discussion relies heavily on a single secondary source precisely because of the paucity of information profiling Ukrainian (and ethnic) women's societal status.

[4] Marusia K. Petryshyn, "The Changing Status of Ukrainian Women in Canada, 1921-1971," in *Changing Realities: Social Trends among Ukrainian Canadians,* ed. W. Roman Petryshyn (Edmonton, 1980), 189.

[5] Ibid., 192.

[6] Ibid., 198.

In 1921, 56 percent of Ukrainian-Canadian women were illiterate, compared to 32 percent of Ukrainian-Canadian men. Only 5 percent of Canadian women in general were termed illiterate at this time. In 1931, 30 percent of Ukrainian-Canadian women were illiterate, compared to 15 percent of Ukrainian-Canadian men and 4 percent of Canadian women of all origins. By 1951, Ukrainian-Canadian women were overrepresented by about 9 percent in the categories of "no schooling" and "one to four years schooling" and underrepresented in the higher education categories.[7] By 1971, Ukrainian-Canadian women approximated Canadian women in terms of education. But the real breakthrough occurred very recently. The 1981 census data reveal that education levels among Ukrainian-Canadian women have continued to rise, so that today they are higher than the national average for women. In fact, the most likely candidate for a university education in Alberta today is a Ukrainian woman.[8]

Education levels have a strong bearing on and correlation to work participation and career expectations among women. Whereas the participation of women generally in the work force from 1941 to 1971 doubled, the participation of Ukrainian-Canadian women in the work force during the same period tripled.[9] In fact, their rate of employment was higher than that of women in all other ethnic groups with the exception of the Hungarians.

In 1981, some 51 percent of Canadian women — more than half the adult female population — was working. (My own province, Alberta, has the highest work rate among women — more than 60 percent.)[10] The current figures indicate Ukrainian-Canadian women are continuing to hold a higher-than-average employment rate. What kinds of jobs, then, do these women perform in the work place? In 1971, 13.1 percent of Ukrainian-Canadian women were employed in the professions, compared to 17.7 percent of all Canadian women. A decade earlier, only 8.3 percent of Ukrainian-Canadian women were in the professions, compared to 15.4 percent of all Canadian women. This amounts to a 5-percent increase on the part of Ukrainian-Canadian women, compared to a 2-percent increase on the part of Canadian women as a whole.[11] Clearly, Ukrainian-Canadian women

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[7] Ibid., 193.

[8] Owen Roberts and Stephen Weatherbe, "Ukrainians and Indians on Campus: Most and Least Likely to Attend," *Alberta Report,* 20 August 1984, 36.

[9] Petryshyn, 200.

[10] Alberta Women's News Collective, "Alberta Women's Newsmagazine Feasibility Study" (Edmonton, November 1984), 103.

[11] Petryshyn, 203.

are climbing the socioeconomic ladder at a faster pace than their general Canadian counterparts.

This brief discussion of demographics provides a contextual framework for examining the role women play in our own community. But first I would like to say a few words about the role of women in mainstream Canadian society.

In the last decade we have witnessed enormous gains on the part of women in Canada. Currently, women's concerns hold great legitimacy within mainstream society. This is perhaps best illustrated by the nationally televised party leaders' debate on women's issues, held last summer as a prelude to the federal elections.[12] Additionally, women's concerns have been clarified and recognized as priority issues. This is reflected in the Canadian Charter of Rights; in increased funding for women's programs, services, publications, conferences, and speakers; in priority programs for women's employment; and, significantly, in the area of university studies.

Women's-studies programs have proliferated at Canadian universities in the last decade, and last fall the Secretary of State announced that funding will be provided to establish four university chairs in women's studies.[13] One of these chairs will be awarded jointly to the University of Manitoba and the University of Winnipeg. Additionally, women's-studies programs will be established at western-Canadian universities in the near future.

Furthermore, daycare has been recognized as a general societal concern and an important public service. The need for adequate daycare has increased significantly in the last decade owing to the higher rate of women's participation in the Canadian work force.

The last example I wish to cite relates to an announcement made this week by Frank Miller, the new premier of Ontario. Mr. Miller, a politician firmly entrenched in the most conservative camp of our most powerful conservative political party — that is, in the right wing of the Ontario Progressive Conservatives — announced on Wednesday the appointment of three women as deputy ministers. The premier also stated that more women would be appointed to senior posts in his government and that the present appointments were in no way tokenistic.[14] Certainly, these advances have not occurred in a vacuum. Women have made steady gains on the Canadian scene for more than

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[12] Televised on CBC television on 15 August 1984.

[13] Press release no S-03-85-74, Communications Directorate, Secretary of State, 8 March 1985.

[14] "Miller Gives 3 Women Deputy Minister Rank," *The Globe and Mail,* 13 February 1985.

a decade. They have made considerable progress in terms of government posts and agencies, and they have penetrated the corporate strongholds that wield real power in our society. Whereas less than 0.5 percent of all appointments to corporate directorships and executive positions was awarded to women in 1971, the current figure is 3 percent. The number of women in managerial, administrative, and related occupations has grown from 2 to 4.2 percent.[15]

And what of our community?

As you know, the organized community is represented by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee — commonly known by its Ukrainian acronym, KUK. The national body of KUK is controlled by its six major component organizations: the Ukrainian National Federation (UNO); the Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation (LVU); the Self-Reliance League (SUS); the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood (BUK); the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation; and the Ukrainian War Veterans Association. The first four of these organizations have their own affiliated women's organizations. They are, respectively: the Ukrainian Women's Organization of Canada (OUK); the Women's Association of the Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation (ZhLVU); the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada (SUK); and the Ukrainian Catholic Women's League of Canada (LUKZh). Although furnishing the opportunity for leadership and recognition, these women's organizations have been mainly auxiliary organizations subject to the authority of their sponsoring, male-directed, parent groups, and their status has never been equated with that of their parent entities. Women's organizations are not recognized in KUK as organizations in their own right.[16] Some even require approval from their parent organization to change their constitution.

And what of the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation (an organization that is still often referred to as the Professional Business*men's* Association, I might add)? Certainly, this is the most progressive group within the organized community. It is, however, an organization whose leadership is predominantly male;

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[15] Royal Commission Report, *Equality in Employment,* by Judge Rosalie Silverman Abella, Commissioner (Ottawa, October 1984), 65; Rona Maynard, "Why Women Still Fail to Reach the Top," *Report On Business,* May 1985, 81.

[16] This particular impediment also precludes the membership of Ukrainian women's organizations in Canada in the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations (SFUZhO), the international Ukrainian women's umbrella organization, because SFUZhO requires all constituent organizations to be autonomous.

an organization whose Winnipeg branch took the "big plunge" only one year ago and allowed women to join. (A major capitulation, no doubt. Nonetheless, it was a victory and a sign of progress.) To be sure, in the last few years women have been presidents of some "P and B" locals: Regina and Saskatchewan have had women presidents, Vancouver recently had a woman president, and the immediate past president of the Edmonton branch is a woman.

One cannot deny wholesale that there has been progress. Some individual achievements come to mind — some penetration of the board room. But not enough. As Sam Ion, president of the Ontario Advisory Council on Women's Issues, said in an interview this week while commenting on the Miller appointments: "I'll be happy only when 50 percent of these positions are held by women."[17]

Leadership, however, is only one side of the coin. Yet, if women have not participated in the community leadership, then where have they participated? The answer is obvious: essentially, in so-called church-basement functions. Traditionally, Ukrainian women have devoted untold hours of thought and labour to activities sponsored within the organized community. Traditionally, too, these efforts have gone largely unrecognized, since women's organizational work has been confined to anonymous support work, such as providing food and holding teas, bazaars, and similar events to raise funds for organizations and churches. They have performed ongoing organizational maintenance work, such as secretarial and other office work, and they have worked with children in *sadochky* and *ridni shkoly*. Basically, they have worked at tasks viewed as the normal extension of woman's role in the family, tasks that have been unjustly relegated to a second-class status.

To summarize, women have held few leadership positions in our community outside of their own subordinated women's organizations. Consequently, the true decision-making processes within the community have too often been conducted without their participation. Where women have been allowed to assume leadership roles, their work has gone largely unrecognized and undervalued. Certainly, it has not been seen as important enough to validate their participation on an equal footing in the organized community structure.

Despite these inequities, women have not exactly been clamoring for change in our community. The major women's organizations appear to be satisfied with the status quo. (And, of course, nothing would suit our community fathers better.) An explanation for this

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[17] "Miller Gives."

apparent complacency is that the changing role of women in mainstream society is a latent manifestation in our own community. The problem is only beginning to define itself.

Moreover, increased education levels and career expectations among Ukrainian-Canadian women are relatively recent phenomena. A new breed of sophisticated, educated, articulate womanhood stands outside the palisades of an essentially antiquated and undemocratic community structure organized mainly around men and men's interests — interests that are not always in sync with those of women. A very real problem is that the organized community only accomodates the participation of women's organizations on a subordinated level. These are the very organizations, presumably, that would agitate for women's interests at a pan-community forum. Real reform is drastically needed in this area, because the organized community cannot evolve and will not survive without meaningful, effective input from women.

And what of reform, or — let's make the question more palatable — what of dialogue in our community regarding areas of concern to women? Is the paucity of female leadership in the empowered community an issue? Is Ukrainian-language daycare an issue? Considering the unprecedented numbers of Ukrainian women in the workforce, their higher education levels and corresponding career expectations, and presuming that we want our children to develop Ukrainian language skills in the formative years of their preschool development, should it not be an issue? A priority issue?

What of the alarming divorce rate among Ukrainians in Canada? Ukrainians have the third-highest divorce rate among all ethnic groups — including Anglo-Saxons — in Canada.[18] Is the lack of support in the home, in the workplace, and in the community that many women experience contributing to this climbing rate? In any regard, there are a lot of single Ukrainian mothers out there. Where will they seek the support services they need? Are not too many of our community structures based on the conventional notion of the two-parent family? Can we accommodate single-parent Ukrainian households in our group functions? Or are they ostracized, either directly or indirectly?

We face real challenges. Are our community leaders developing programs to meet these challenges? Are our leaders even aware of the challenges we face?

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[18] Ukrainian Community Development Committee, Alberta Provincial Council, Ukrainian Canadian Committee, "Community Needs Study: Alberta (Preliminary Findings)" (Edmonton, October 1984), fig. 9b.

And what of our churches? Is there dialogue within the Ukrainian churches as to women's changing role in society? When women are being ordained as ministers of Protestant churches and even Roman Catholics have made concessions toward the greater participation of women in sacramental services, are our churches even considering these matters? For example, the Rabbinical Assembly, the international organization of Conservative rabbis, voted overwhelmingly this week to admit women into the Conservative movement's governing body.[19] The vote opens the way for women rabbis to lead Conservative congregations. Reform and Reconstruction Jewish movements have accepted female rabbis since the seventies. Today, there are about sevety-five female rabbis in Canada and the United States. Rabbi Gerson Cohen, chancellor of the Jewish Theological Seminary of New York, has said that having women rabbis is "not morally correct, but morally mandatory," and that women must be given equality of opportunity. Traditionalists, of course, believe having female rabbis is incompatible with Jewish law. But at least there is dialogue on the matter. Can we say the same about our community?

The question as to how many women we lose because of the lack of dialogue — let alone reform — in our community is not generally asked. How many "hidden" *and* "known" Ukrainian women turn away from the community because it offers them too little and excludes them too often?

What, then, does the future hold? Whether it is obvious to us or not, the dialogue has begun. It will receive a major hearing at the Second Wreath Conference — a conference that will be held in Edmonton next Thanksgiving weekend to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Ukrainian women's movement.

Ukrainian-Canadian women are in transition from church basement to board room. The community as a whole must recognize this process, and it must further it by opening the doors of its male-dominated executives to the equal participation of women. It needs to recognize the changing role of women in society, to dialogue, and to develop social programs that reflect these changes. It needs to recognize, in a meaningful way, the value of so-called "women's work." It needs to make every effort to draw this sector of "hidden and known" Ukrainian Canadians into active and creative participation. Our community is in flux. We have much to offer. We *all* have much to gain.

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[19] "Conservative Rabbis Admit Women," *Globe and Mail*, 14 February, 1985.

George S.N. Luckyj

ON THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF
SUCHASNIST

The history of Ukrainian émigré journals of quality is relatively short but not undistinguished. A little more than a century ago, Mykhailo Drahomanov, with the assistance of Mykhailo Pavlyk and Serhii Podolynsky, published their *Hromada* in Geneva, Switzerland from 1878 to 1882. An excellent, though irregular, journal, it folded primarily because the contemporary Ukrainian reading public did not appreciate a periodical devoted to radical politics. It preferred broader, multifaceted cultural publications, like those that were appearing in Galicia.

After *Hromada*'s demise there was a long hiatus, which lasted until after the failed revolution of 1917–18. It was not until the early 1920s that Ukrainian emigrants in Western Europe began publishing their own journals. A few deserve to be mentioned: *Khliborobska Ukraina* and *Na perelomi* in Vienna, *Nova Ukraina* and *Studentskyi vistnyk* in Prague, *Tryzub* in Paris, and, in the 1930s, *My* and *Nasha kultura* in Warsaw. They represented the views of various Ukrainian political parties in exile (the socialists, the "Hetmanites", the followers of Petliura) and, with the exception of the Warsaw publications, seldom rose above partisan politics. Although some outstanding political articles were published in these and in other journals of the interwar period (1920–39), there was as yet no major journal outside the ethnic borders of Ukraine. Within these borders several important periodicals did appear — *Visnyk* and *Dzvony* in Western Ukraine, and *Chervonyi shliakh*, *Zhyttia i revolutsiia*, and *Literaturnyi iarmarok* in Soviet Ukraine. The onset of Stalinism in the east meant the demise of true literary and sociopolitical journals. Their replacements, in the 1940s, turned out to be merely the mouthpieces of communist cultural politics. The journal as a platform for intellectual discussion (even within a certain ideological framework) died.

Thus, from the point of view of the survival of Ukrainian culture in the world, the creation of important journals in the new diaspora after 1945 was all the more desirable. Some efforts were, indeed, made in that direction in the various Displaced Persons camps in Europe (for example, the journal *Arka*). But, naturally, the evolution of intellectual journals could truly begin only after the resettlement in the New World. There, attempts were made to publish all kinds of periodicals. By 1968 over eighty periodicals existed, mostly in the United States and Canada.* Most of them were published by professional, church, women's,

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*Entsyklopedia ukrainoznavstva: Slovnykova chastyna, 6 (1970): 2321.

youth, and other organizations and catered to rather narrow interests. Some were glorified newsletters, which appeared as monthly journals for fiscal reasons.

Among so many periodicals there has been only one outstanding journal — the monthly *Suchasnist*. First published in January 1961, it succeeded the bimonthly *Suchasna Ukraina* and the monthly *Ukrainska literaturna hazeta*, which appeared from 1951 to 1960. So today, while formally celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary, *Suchasnist*, with its antecedents, is thirty-five years old — a very respectable age for a Ukrainian periodical. The famous Galician *Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk* (together with the later *Visnyk*) lasted, with intervals, altogether thirty-four years.

Longevity is admirable only if it is accompanied by good health and vigor. *Suchasnist* has both. The secret of its remarkable state is to be found in its basic concept, which was spelled out in the first issue. There two things were made clear — that the journal would discuss the manifold problems of Ukrainian culture, and that it would not reflect the views of a single political party but, rather, try to stand above politics. On the whole it has succeeded in doing so and has therefore earned the respect of readers of many ideological persuasions.

Suchasnist made it clear at the same time that it was undertaking these tasks at the very moment when the offensive against Ukrainian culture in Ukraine was intensifying. Twenty-five years ago it would have been hard to believe that this intensified drive would end in the virtual siege of today. That it has makes the premise of defending Ukrainian culture from abroad even more valid today than it was in 1961. But can one defend a culture from abroad, especially in the era of the Iron Curtain? There are parallels from the histories of other countries that demonstrate the possibility. One can cite Armenian and Polish examples. National survival may even, under certain circumstances, be sustained with the help of a diaspora. Perhaps the most dramatic case of this may be found in the period leading up to the creation of modern Israel. *Suchasnist* has been getting through the Iron Curtain, and all Soviet Ukrainian intellectuals are aware of its existence, even if they do not read it.

There are, however, some dangers involved in the defense of a national culture from abroad, the greatest being the rigidity with which this aim may sometimes be pursued. So far, with the exception of the early ouster of the late Ihor Kostetsky, *Suchasnist* has managed to be evenhanded. I was attacked for a couple of articles published in *Suchasnist* in the 1960s, in which I attacked the theory and practice of multiculturalism in Canada and elsewhere. Yet my right to differ with prevailing émigré opinion was respected. This tolerance of different viewpoints is the hallmark of good journalism and of intellectual maturity.

In opposing Soviet totalitarianism, *Suchasnist* has been in the vanguard of a Western intellectual movement that, since 1961, has gathered considerable strength both in North America and Europe. This opposition is not based on empty rhetoric, but primarily on Ukrainian *samvydav* sources, many of which first appeared in *Suchasnist*. The journal has become a true mirror of the Ukrainian resistance movement and will, therefore, remain a major sourcebook for future generations of students. Let us hope that its value will not be purely archival, but that it will stimulate and refresh those who come after us.

Any revitalization of Ukrainian thought cannot be carried out in isolation from the outside world. From the very beginning *Suchasnist* has been aware that it

must devote some attention to Western intellectual trends, to international events in general, and, finally, to the intellectual milieu in the diaspora. Meeting the last of these requirements has been particularly difficult, since, even before 1961, thinking in the Ukrainian diaspora has often been stereotypical and secondhand. It has sometimes been thought that the cliché-ridden repetition of the old verities, extracted from the words of Shevchenko, Franko, Lesia Ukrainka, Hrushevsky, Drahomanov, Vynnychenko, Dontsov, and other luminaries of the past, will suffice to deal with the problems of the modern world. *Suchasnist* has offered space on its pages to many journalists and scholars who have tried to reevaluate these old verities. At the same time it has paid increasing attention to the life and work of Ukrainian artists in the diaspora, and this has brought it into contact with modern European and American art. It has published sociological studies on acculturation and the preservation of a cultural identity in the diaspora, devoted whole special issues to certain specific problems (Ukrainian cultural life one hundred years ago, Ukrainians in Canada, and so on), and printed many reviews of prominent Ukrainian, West European, and North American publications. It has grown in breadth, and appealed to a widening circle of readers. Strangely enough, however, the popularity of *Suchasnist* in Canada has always been limited. The total number of Canadian subscribers is now around three hundred, which equals the number of subscribers in the Metropolitan New York area. Perhaps this is further evidence of the inherent provincialism of this country.

What of the future? In another twenty-five years the present generation of émigrés that still predominates in the editorial board and among the contributors of *Suchasnist* will no longer be here. If the journal survives that long, it will have to rely on the generation of Ukrainian intellectuals born in the diaspora. One of the problems that this reliance will encounter is the diminishing fluency in Ukrainian that these men and women may then command. If the journal is to survive as a Ukrainian publication, it must maintain a certain level of linguistic sophistication, which in the future may be hard to come by. One easy way out would be for it to become a bilingual Ukrainian-English journal, a solution that would reduce its relevance to potential readers in Ukraine. Yet, one must not rule out the possibility of using English, remembering that Irish culture is nourished today not in Gaelic, but in English. Language alone does not determine the nature of a culture. The best Indian writers today write in English. One would hope, however, that that painful decision will not have to be made and that Ukrainian will continue to be the language of *Suchasnist.*

A much more important requirement for the future is the maintenance of intellectual fair play. Moreover, in order to maintain and even increase the number of subscriptions and to widen the circle of readership, *Suchasnist* must remain, at all costs, an interesting publication. Since people are interested in many different things, the journal has to cater to the widest possible readership, as long as the discussion continues to be carried on at a respectable level. It must not become a haven for the graphomaniacs and petty journalists who thrive everywhere. Much will depend on the future editors in chief and editorial boards, for they alone can assure the high level of the publication.

But while thinking of the distant future, there is always one, now unthinkable possibility: the demise of the Soviet regime and the liberation of Ukraine. One of the raisons d'être of *Suchasnist* might then disappear, but who

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would not welcome its disappearance? On the other hand, there may be good reasons for the journal to continue even then. For who knows what new voices may be raised in the diaspora in the wake of such a happy event!

BOOK REVIEWS

ALEXANDER BARAN AND GEORGE GAJECKY, *THE COSSACKS IN THE THIRTY YEARS WAR, VOLUME II: 1625—1648.* Rome: Analecta OSBM, 1983. 124 pp.

In the second volume of their study the authors devote four chapters to the activities of the cossacks in western Europe during the latter part of the Thirty Years War and the fifth, last, chapter to "The Social, National and Military Influence of the Western Cossack Mercenaries in Ukraine." The book also includes a twenty-three-page appendix containing the texts of fourteen relevant documents.

This volume, like the first (dealing with the years 1619—24 and published in 1969), can be profitably consulted by historians of the Thirty Years War and by those interested in cossack history. Together both volumes provide a short but valuable monograph about a little known subject. (It must be noted, however, that the book contains many spelling and typographical errors.) Among the interesting facts mentioned in the second volume is the presence of cossack mercenaries in France in the 1630s and 1640s and, related to this, the role of Bohdan Khmelnytsky. The authors note that although Khmelnytsky himself never went to France during those years, he did play an important role in organizing the cossack contingent that was sent there in 1646. Also informative is the chapter describing the military tactics of the cossacks, where we learn that they were particularly important to western European commanders as light cavalry, and not as infantry. The study is marred, however, by the authors' failure to clearly distinguish between the Zaporozhian and registered cossacks who served as mercenaries and those Polish military formations that were called cossack but were neither Ukrainian nor necessarily part of the "highly sophisticated military society which had evolved for over a century into a cohesive group, the kernel of which were the Zaporozhian Cossacks" (p. 60).

In the last chapter and conclusion, the authors argue that cossack service in western Europe had an important and hitherto ignored impact on events in early 17th-century Ukraine. They make a number of generalizations about the nature of this impact. But neither their argument nor their generalizations follow from what was written in the preceding chapters. For example, the authors claim "we may state unequivocally that the Cossack mercenaries in the Thirty Years War had a direct and even decisive influence not only on the evolution of the [sic] cossack society and its organization, but also on the cultural and national development of the Ukrainian people as a whole" (p. 68). But there is no evidence anywhere in the book to support this sweeping assertion. Soldiering obviously influences individuals and then societies, and detailed studies have shown that veterans returning from the French Revolutionary wars, as well as Tsarist officers returning from the Napoleonic Wars, definitely influenced political and cultural development in their respective countries. Analogously, it is reasonable to assume that Ukrainian society was influenced in some way by returning veterans. But the authors make this assumption without having demonstrated it. If, as the

authors allege, veterans from Europe did bring western ideas and influences to Ukraine, what kind of influences and ideas were they? Do the authors assume that Ukrainian mercenaries serving in western Europe during the Thirty Years War did more than prepare for battle, fight, pillage and drink? Are they implying that when not fighting, cossacks in western Europe read Erasmus and Descartes, or perhaps Hotman, Beza, and Mornay, and engaged in disputations with local men of letters? If so, they should have clearly stated their idea and then proven it. If, on the other hand, they are not implying what I have imputed, then what kind of intellectual and cultural influences are they talking about? In short, although we are told that cossack veterans of western campaigns were "instrumental in the cultural and intellectual rebirth taking place in Kiev" (p. 75), we are not provided with any evidence of this.

Of course, there was an intellectual rebirth in Kiev, and it is true that owing to a tiny handful of intelligent leaders, the energies of the cossacks were channelled into defending the Ukrainian Orthodox church. But in *The Cossacks in the Thiry Years War* it is only stated, not proven, that mercenary military service in western Europe had an important impact on events during this period of Ukrainian history. Moreover, by not mentioning cultural contacts in peacetime via trade or personal travel, nor frequent cossack campaigns in Russia and on the Turkish coast, the authors give the impression that mercenary service was the only avenue along which outside influences could reach Ukraine and that the only influences that did reach the country were western European. The authors state that because cossack political ideals and ambitions changed between 1616 and 1648, service in western Europe must have been instrumental in bringing this change about (pp. 77–78). But this assertion is not proven and thus provides us with nothing more than an example of fallacious *post hoc, ergo propter hoc* reasoning.

The authors also write that cossacks returning from the wars were the major destabilizing elements in cossack Ukraine. Again, this is a plausible assumption, but a generalization cannot be made on the basis of one example of a returning western veteran, Taras Triasylo-Fedorovych, who later became a leader in a revolt (p. 74). Are the authors implying that cossacks had to go to western Europe to learn how to rebel?

Particularly contentious is the notion that the idea of a state began germinating in Ukraine at the end of the 16th century (p. 78). This notion has been present in Ukrainian historiography since the beginning of the 20th century, and Baran and Gajecky obviously subscribe to it. But is it realistic to claim that in the early 17th century a society of trappers, traders, subsistence farmers, and military vagabonds living on the fringes of civilization could have evolved a concept as abstract and sophisticated as that of a state? Does not the history of political thought show that the concept of secular statehood apeared in western European thought, at the earliest, only during the last half of the 17th century, and consequently, that claims about statist thought existing in 16th-century cossack Ukraine are quite unrealistic?

Related to this ahistorical emphasis on the role of statist ideas is a tendency in modern Ukrainian historiography to ignore or overlook the fact that Ukrainian cossack leaders, who belonged to a military servitor estate group, were not acting radically when they spoke out for their estate rights. Because of such oversight,

many Ukrainian historians, including Baran and Gajecky, have tended to erroneously interpret early modern cossack estate politics, which could hardly have aspired towards anything as abstract as statehood, in 20-century "revolutionary-statist" terms. Connected with this misconception is Baran and Gajecky's unacceptable translation of the Polish term "Rzeczpospolita" to read "state," and their assumption that the phrase "the cossacks are creating a separate republic" means the cossacks wanted to create a state (p. 71).

Seen from the perspective of the 20th century, the above phrase can indeed be interpreted in terms of political separatism. However, when interpreted in the context of the period during which it was formulated, the phrase becomes an expression of the gentry's fear of losing their personal, as well as collective, jurisdiction over lands settled by cossacks. The gentry claimed the lands in question were theirs, whereas the cossacks claimed they had been granted to them by the King and, as such, were subject neither to the Sejm nor to individual owners, but only to the Crown and its officials. Since the cossacks regarded themselves as servants of the King and not citizens of the Rzeczpospolita, they clearly posed a threat to the gentry, but only insofar as they saw no reason why they should obey anyone except the King and his agents. In light of the cossack image of themselves as the King's loyal servants therefore, it is incorrect to treat cossack appeals seeking exemption from gentry authority — even if such appeals were addressed to a monarch outside the borders of the Polish-Lithuanian Republic — as if they were an expression of a nationalist movement whose aim was the establishment of an independent, impersonal, bureaucratic, and secular nation-state.

In an age of dynasticism, when nonmonarchic republics like Venice or Holland were regarded as either quaint or disgusting anomalies, and when politics was the prerogative of the nobility, a separate polity existing without a dynastic, or at least aristocratic, ruler at its head was inconceivable. No one would have considered an autonomous duchy, principality, or area of a crown land within a kingdom to have been an independent realm in its own right. Of course, some Ukrainians at the time might have had political ambitions that could have involved political separatism. But a historian examining this question today cannot presume to see this issue in modern statist terms. Given the intellectual or ideological context of the period under study, the most realistic approach should involve examination of whether there existed a concept of *restoratio* or *renovatio regni ruthenorum*, and whether there were any persons interested in placing a Riurykovych, or perhaps a Gedyminovych, on a restored Rus' throne. If such a thing as a desire for Ukrainian political independence existed in the early modern period, then this is the only way it could have been expressed. Until the French Revolution, and despite the Dutch and English revolutions, polities were thought of as patrimonies ruled by consecrated dynastic monarchs, and the authors of the book under review, who are undoubtedly aware of this, as well as the dictum *in dominium suum rex imperator est* and all that it implies, cannot be excused for ignoring these basic facts and reading present day values and ideas into the past.

On p. 81 the authors claim that their findings are "revolutionary" in a sentence that seems to imply that other historians had intentionally passed over the subject in silence and had not simply been ignorant of the relevant documents. Was it necessary to impute malicious intent by such phrases as

"Hrushevsky and his school have mistakenly led Ukrainian historiography down a blind alley"? (p. 83). Rather than explaining why Hrushevsky and others might have overlooked this subject or determining whether it was omitted consciously, the authors construct straw men called Ukrainian, Polish, and Russian interpretations, which, supposedly consciously and, it seems, maliciously, ignored or downplayed the importance to Ukraine of cossack service in the Thiry Years War. They then try to knock these men down with unsubstantiated arguments about cossack veterans of western campaigns being exposed to the West and its concepts and transmitting "many of them" to Ukraine.

Baran and Gajecky point out that contact with western Europe played a major role in the mid-17th century Ukrainian intellectual revival — which no one would deny — and that in some unspecified way this contact also had an effect on early 17-century Ukrainian revolts. They also claim that drifting, disbanded cossack mercenaries who fought in the Thirty Years War were the major, if not only, conduit for western influences (p. 83). But their book, which focuses on military and diplomatic history, does not specify what these influences were nor how they were disseminated. The authors have clearly demonstrated their professional competence in archival research and detailed empirical study, and they shed light upon a little known but interesting subject. However, their study finishes with fifteen pages of non sequiturs and contentious and fallacious assertions that add nothing to our understanding of 17th-century Ukrainian history. They should have been omitted, as they merely detract from the quality of an otherwise useful monograph.

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JAMES E. MACE, *COMMUNISM AND THE DILEMMAS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION: NATIONAL COMMUNISM IN SOVIET UKRAINE, 1918—1933.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute and the Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S., 1983. xiv, 334 pp. Distributed by Harvard University Press.

This monograph is a significant contribution to Ukrainian scholarship and a welcome addition to our knowledge of twentieth-century Ukrainian history. It is of particular interest in that it covers those turbulent years from the beginnings of the Ukrainian Revolution in 1917 to the Great Famine of 1932–33. The author examines the complex relationship between nationalism and socialism in determining Communist party policy. By describing the wide-ranging debates on the character of national Communism, he provides some explanations for the successes and failures of the attempt at establishing a unique Ukrainian identity within the Soviet state. The decade of the 1920s, before Stalin imposed party uniformity, was marked by an extensive discussion, both within and outside the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine, on the best means of equipping the party with a national identity and a social base. The policy adopted was known as Ukrainization, and the purpose of Mace's book is to investigate its origins, the motivations of its protagonists and opponents, and, finally, to explain its defeat.

Mace begins with an overview of Marxist theories of the national question, emphasizing the assimilationist element in the thinking of Marx and Rosa

Luxemburg and the tactical sophistication of Lenin. After describing the growth of indigenous Ukrainian socialism, he charts the repeated attempts and failures of the Bolsheviks in establishing a regime in Ukraine. But it is only with the success of the third attempt that the debate on national Communism properly begins within the Communist party. During the Civil War the various Ukrainian socialist parties had split and realigned themselves in response to the social demands of the peasantry and the military pressure of the Bolsheviks. Once the Bolsheviks had understood they could only succeed by incorporating the social and national demands of the Ukrainian peasantry, the stage was set for a convergence between the Bolshevik party in Ukraine and certain left-wing sections of Ukrainian socialism, principally the Borotbisty, whose leaders later played an important role during Ukrainization. Once this merger had been achieved, the real debate could begin on how best to consolidate Soviet rule in Ukraine.

Whereas the Communist party had already chosen a policy of consolidation and retrenchment in the economic sphere by instituting NEP in 1921, it was only during the All-Union Twelfth Party Congress of 1923 that the policy of "indigenization" (*korenizatsiia*) was adopted; this policy politically recognized the national peculiarities of the non-Russian republics. When adapted to Ukraine's specific circumstances, this policy was known as Ukrainization. It attempted to win over the Ukrainian peasantry by placing the party at the head of the national institutions thrown up during the Civil War.

It is unfortunate that at this point Mace assumes the reader has a knowledge of the specialist literature and avoids examining the initial motivations for Ukrainization. The reader is left unsure whether this policy was simply a means toward the end of pacifying the peasantry, in short a tactical move, or whether it was an actual recognition of the national distinctiveness of Ukraine's situation. At first Ukrainization was limited to the cultural sphere, but after Lazar Kaganovich became Ukraine's first party secretary, the policy widened to include the Ukrainization of the party and state apparats. Yet, within a year the leading proponent of Ukrainization, the former Borotbist and commissar of education, Oleksander Shumsky, was faced with a political campaign against him, accused of "subjectivism" and of shielding "bourgeois-nationalist" deviations within certain literary groups. This campaign resulted not only in Shumsky's dismissal, but in the eventual expulsion of the majority leadership of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine (KPZU). It was paralleled by a campaign against several leading literary figures, most notably the communist Mykola Khvylovy, who argued that Ukraine should orient itself toward the developed culture of Europe and away from the backwardness of Russia.

The rest of Mace's book charts the course of the various campaigns against the leading exponents of Ukraine's having a distinct and individual path of development. Besides Shumsky and Khvylovy, they included Mykhailo Volobuiev with his theory of colonialism, Matvii Iavorsky in the field of historiography; and, finally, Mykola Skrypnyk, who all along had believed that Ukrainization was compatible with the interests of the Soviet regime. Each of these figures receives extensive consideration in separate chapters. By the late 1920s Ukrainization was stalled in its tracks, and by 1933, effectively dead. The book concludes with Skrypnyk's suicide and the catastrophic famine caused by the policy of Collectivization.

As a history of the debates on Ukrainization in and around the party, this book is thorough and comprehensive; it extends the territory covered by previous writers, such as Jurij Borys and George Luckyj. As an introduction to the political history of the early Soviet Ukrainian republic it is a welcomed addition. Its extensive bibliography is particularly valuable.

However, since Mace's purpose is not merely to describe the events of the 1920s, but to put forward some explanation for the period as a whole, it is at this point that the reviewer must express some reservations. The goal of the national Communists was to forge a Ukraine that would be both socialist and a nation in its own right. In Mace's reading, their "dilemma" was that they were eventually forced into choosing one or the other in face of the centralizing tendencies of the Moscow-based Communist party. They appear as well-intentioned Communists destined for a tragic end. Mace's conclusion is straightforward: the debate about Ukrainization was a question of national self-determination versus Russian domination, and the proponents of radical Ukrainization should therefore be more adequately described as Communist nationalists and not national Communists. Ukrainization was tolerated to the extent it helped pacify the countryside, but once Moscow felt secure in its power, national aspirations could be disregarded, the peasantry subjugated, and national leaders eliminated. This is a familiar theme in Ukrainian historiography, but an inadequate explanation.

Yet, Mace himself is aware that the national question can only be understood in its social context. His book both begins and ends with a discussion of the Bolsheviks' policy in relation to the peasantry. However, the discussion about Ukrainization during the crucial years of the middle and late 1920s omits the social context completely. The question remains whether the situation in the countryside accounted for the vicissitudes of party policy.

In Mace's view, much of the timing in introducing Ukrainization is explained by intra-party maneuverings in Moscow. Although this may have been a possible factor, it is a digression from the main theme dominating his early chapters. Furthermore, it raises even greater problems. The party struggles in Moscow did not just concern personalities, but involved substantive issues that directly concerned Ukraine.

The debates on industrialization and the market are mentioned only peripherally as accounting only for possible party-factional alignments; they are ignored in the discussion of Volubuiev's theory of Ukraine's colonial status and the need for industrialization. Thus, Mace's perspective is not only Ukrainocentric: by limiting his discussion to theoretical conceptions and avoiding any analysis of the real mechanisms of Ukraine's subordination, Mace is unable to adequately explain the motivations of the principal protagonists.

Both Khvylovy and Volobuiev were ethnic Russians and another Russian, Kaganovich, presided during the years of Ukrainization's apex, while Hryhorii Hrynko, a Ukrainian and an early exponent of Ukraine's economic interests, became the Soviet Commissar of Finance (1930—37) under Stalin. Why should the career of Shumsky be more symptomatic of the struggle within Ukraine than that of his fellow Borotbist Hrynko? Without the debate on Ukrainization being situated within the context of larger social and political issues, we have no way of differentiating between the possible aspirations of a truly national elite and the

interests of a local bureaucratic elite. We can only hope that this book will stimulate research in this direction.

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BOHDAN ROMANENCHUK, NATALIA PAZUNIAK, AND LEONID RUD-NYTZKY, EDS. *LITERATURNI PROTESTY PISLIA DRUHOI SVITOVOI VIINY: OHLIADY I VYBRANI PYTANNIA UKRAINSKOI TA INSHYKH LITERATUR.* Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka, Filolohichna sektsiia, vol. 195. Philadelphia and New York, 1982. 256 pp.

Only six of this collection's fifteen articles are concerned with the subject named in the title: literary processes after the Second World War. The volume also encompasses two biographical essays and seven studies on specialized (prewar) themes in history, comparative literature, and folklore.

The biographical studies have as their subjects three members of the Philadelphia branch of the Shevchenko Scientific Society whose contribution to Ukrainian scholarship the volume commemorates. (No reference to them appears on the title page. The reader learns of the dedication from Leonid Rudnytzky's introduction.) A two-part essay by Bohdan Romanenchuk treats of Mykhailo Tershakovets (1883–1978) and Volodymyr Doroshenko (1879–1963); Oleksander Luzhnytsky writes more briefly on Volodymyr Bezushko (1894–1980). Tershakovets discovered important archival materials on Markiian Shashkevych and the Galician renaissance and wrote extensively on this topic in the period 1904–44. His *Materiialy i zamitky do istorii natsionalnoho vidrodzhennia halytskoi Rusy v 1830–40* (1907) was highly regarded by no less an authority than Franko. Doroshenko was a librarian and, eventually, the director of the Shevchenko Scientific Society's collection in Lviv (1908–44), and a bibliographer, critic, and literary historian. His numerous readings of 19th- and 20th-century literature were oriented on a Marxist aesthetics. Bezushko, the only one of the three who was professionally active in scholarship after arrival in the United States in the late 1940s, published on Bohdan Lepky, Gogol, and the classics of Ukrainian literature.

The three biographies are of historical interest, although their value is diminished by the inadequacy of their bibliographies: the article on Doroshenko provides none at all, and the bibliography for Bezushko is incomplete. In his two studies Romanenchuk laudably undertakes to describe the content and method of the major works by Tershakovets and Doroshenko, but the prominence in these analyses of the author's personal political convictions and his sometimes gaudy turn of phrase ("shyrylasia sotsiialistychna poshest," p. 39) impresses upon these essays a superfluously journalistic character.

The second section of the collection, which contains surveys of various national literatures after 1945, begins with Ukrainian literature, moves westward through a number of other Slavic literatures, and finishes with the literatures of Germany and Italy. The contributions by Mieczyslaw Giergielewicz on Polish, Wiliam E. Harkins on Czech, and Domenico A. Di Marco on Italian literature

accomplish what one expects of such overviews: they unite the presentation of facts with an account of general trends in culture, specific developments within individual genres, and connections between literature and sociopolitical circumstances.

Romanenchuk's long essay, "Ukrainska literatura pislia druhoi svitovoi viiny," could better be described as a survey of the politics of Soviet Ukrainian literature. As is the cause with the collection as a whole, the title does not match the content. About 40 percent of the essay deals with pre-1945 developments, and the survey ends at about 1960. The author finds the conditions under which Ukrainian literature was constrained to develop understandably offensive; however, some of the energy and space devoted to indignation would have been better invested in a fuller and more analytical description of literary phenomena.

Leonid Rudnytzky's survey of East and West German literature focusses most concretely on literary texts themselves; a fullness of names, titles, and dates does not obscure the general image of a literature divided in two by political fiat, confronted with the problem of recovering from the cultural catastrophe of National Socialism, and urgently needing to establish for itself a new moral authority. Rudnytzky presents synopses of novels and verse quotations (in creditable Ukrainian translations), suggesting by his choice a hierarchy of importance and quality that it would be difficult to dispute.

Hryhorii Luzhnytsky's sketch of Sorbian-Lusatian literature focusses on the role of literature in preserving the culture of a linguistic and ethnic minority threatened by assimilation by the dominant German culture.

Of the remaining articles, four are united by their interest in intercultural influences or analogies. Boris Hlynsky, in "Quelques influences thematiques d'Émile Zola sur Ivan Franko," limits himself to the illustration of similarities without seriously addressing the question of the reason for or significance of Franko's reception of Zola. Volodymyr Karpynych's "Rilke in Quest of Ukraine" is dedicated to establishing that the thematic material of some of Rilke's *Geschichten vom lieben Gott* is Ukrainian in origin. The two studies of Kotsiubynsky are more ambitious and methodologically self–aware. Myron E. Nowosad's "Betrachtungen über die unheimlichen und irrationalen Elemente bei Mychajlo Kotsiubyns'kyj und Theodor Storm" and Eleonora K. Adam's "Kotsiubynsky i Shnitsler: Dvi postati impresionizmu" are both concerned to demonstrate not only coincidences in theme, symbolic structure and Weltanschauung, but to suggest that their causes lie in deeper analogies between cultural situations.

Three essays deal with premodern topics: Volodymyr Zyla, in "The Importance of Mythological Tradition in the Tale of Ihor's Campaign," contributes to the discussion of the pagan deities in the Tale; Wasyl Jaszczun presents an information-rich account of the origins and nature of the veneration of St. Nicholas ("Aus dem Nikolauskulte in der volkloristischen und religiösen Literatur in der Ukraine"); and George A. Perfecky, in an essay that is clearly argued and exhaustively documented, shows that the term " Rus' " (designating the Kievan land and its inhabitants) has an uninterrupted tradition of use from the 12th to the 17th century.

The collection, curiously eclectic as it is, has potential interest for certain classes of readers — the biographies for the historian of Ukrainian scholarship, Zyla's article for the student of medieval literature and of Slavic myth, and

Perfecky's study for all who engage in controversies concerning the historical identity of Ukrainians. Some of the most accomplished contributions — those on the postwar literatures — may be of use to the general reader with an interest in contemporary European culture, although it is difficult to imagine that such a reader would not already have found the same information elsewhere.

On the other hand, there is much that detracts from the book. There are irritating deviations from the Kharkiv orthography ("oryhinalnyj" — p. 22, "intelihentsiia" — p. 44, "u...rozuminniu" — p. 48), and the standard of proofreading leaves much to be desired ("1930—1940" instead of "1830—1840" — p. 23). The contributions are uneven in quality, and some of the "comparative" studies are methodologically dubious and contribute little to the body of literary-historical knowledge. And it is paradoxical that a book on literary processes after the Second World War published by a Ukrainian scholarly institution in the emigration should contain no treatment of literature in Soviet Ukraine after 1960 (including dissident literature) or of Ukrainian émigré literature.

<div align="right">

Marko Pavlyshyn
Monash University

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V.J. KAYE, *UKRAINIAN CANADIANS IN CANADA'S WARS,* edited by J.B. Gregorovich. Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1983. ix., 125pp. Distributed by Ethnicity Books, 125 Academy Rd., Winnipeg, Manitoba, R3M 0E2.

Long considered the dean of Ukrainian-Canadian historiography, Vladimir J. Kaye is remembered more for his culling of primary sources, particularly government records, for materials pertinent to Ukrainians in Canada than for his analysis and interpretation. *Ukrainian Canadians in Canada's Wars* persists in this tradition. Published posthumously after editorial revisions by J.B. Gregorovich, it is a collection of documents, combined with the author's or editor's own text, relating to Ukrainian-Canadian involvement in the Boer and First World wars. The book consititutes the first volume of a projected series, Materials for Ukrainian Canadian History.

A brief biography of Kaye and a peculiar two-page chapter entitled "Terminology Relating to the Name 'Ukraine' and 'Ukrainian' " (which, we are told, was rewritten, though it still bears Kaye's name) begin the volume. Subsequent material is organized into seven sections. The first, selected no doubt to demonstrate Ukrainian identification with the British cause, is a half-page excerpt from the *Dauphin Press* applauding Galician efforts to enlist in the Boer War. The next two sections are more substantial. One contains translations of Bishop Nykyta Budka's controversial pastoral letters of the opening days of the First World War, plus a sympathetic report from the contemporary Catholic press of the 1919 investigation into his wartime activities and loyalty. The other (again

said to be rewritten, although still credited to Kaye) is a series of quotations and lists compiled from official documents, together with additional information, given in paragraph form, concerning Ukrainian participation in the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF). A biographical sketch of Philip Konowal, recipient of the Victoria Cross in 1917, and a longer account of John Ovsianitzky, the Russian Orthodox chaplain in the CEF, follow. Two sections deal with the home front; the full text of Major-General Sir William Otter's official report, as director, of internment operations in Canada from 1914 to 1920 precedes a 1919 Ukrainian appeal for greater tolerance on the part of Anglo-Canadians and an excerpt from a 1923 speech by J.T.M. Anderson praising the Ukrainians' wartime record. The volume concludes with an alphabetical list of 393 Ukrainian-Canadian service casualties (1915–1921): besides place, cause, and date of death, the data include rank and number, unit, and place of enlistment.

Poor organization and uneconomical layout have created a certain confusion in using the book. One's annoyance is exacerbated by haphazard technical editing: typos within documents, two forms of citation for sources (see, for example, notes 3 and 4, pp. 53–54), contradictory publishing data for a book cited twice on the same page (Shevchenko's *Kobzar*, p. 54), and peculiarities in transliteration (*Kanadysky Rusyn*, p. 18). While these are quibbles, such problems detract from the professionalism of the volume.

But the book has more serious shortcomings. One repeatedly wishes that more stringent guidelines had been applied in selecting documents or information for inclusion and that an item's significance in relation to the overall picture and other data had been weighed more carefully. The failure to do so has produced a frequently tedious text, in which pedantic use of details overshadows material that is truly interesting: in some instances it serves as a substitute for the latter. Are the facts that Ovsianitzky had scabies in September 1917 (p. 67) and that his house and house number on rue d'Aiguillon in Montreal no longer exist (p. 60) really two of the more important things to be said about Ukrainians in Canada during the First World War, or even about Ovsianitzky? Surely more extensive quotation from documents referring to his abrupt release from the CEF in 1918 (see pp. 63–66) would have been more illuminating.

The portions of text by the author or editor (one does not know what material the editor introduced, although he claims responsibility for all errors) also suffer from inaccuracies and lack of focus. To say, for example, that "the First World War broke out and in 1917 the Russian Empire became an ally of Canada" (p. 29) is not only simplistic, but also incorrect. On more than one occasion tightening the text to eliminate pointless repetition would also have avoided pointless error. Two examples will suffice. The reader does not need to be told serviceman John Roshakowsky's birthplace twice (pp. 31, 32–33), especially as the retelling misspelled his surname. Similarly, the reader does not need to be informed twice of Stolypin's assassination (pp. 59, 62), especially as the retelling changed the year of his death from 1911 to 1891. Some editorial decisions are simply baffling: it is not a "correction" to replace the common English term Galicia with Halychyna (pp. 31–32), while referring to Galicians as Halychynians (p. 31) further obscures matters. Neither is it a "correction" to replace Russia and Austria-Hungary as the birthplaces of Ukrainian volunteers in this period with Eastern and Western Ukraine respectively.

Occasional editorial slips in labelling and providing sources (for example, on pp. 44–49, the numbers to notes 8, 10, and 11 are omitted in the text, but references appear in the notes; nos. 12 and 13 appear in neither the text nor the the notes; and no. 14 appears in the text but not in the notes) have made identification difficult. Otherwise the documents cited, primarily from government records in the Public Archives of Canada, are well identified and should help direct the interested researcher to other materials relevant to Ukrainians in Canada. More significantly, the documents illustrate an often overlooked ethnic dimension, outside the French-English and narrow "enemy alien" framework, to the Canadian experience during the First World War. They show that the Ukrainians' relationship to the Canadian war effort was more complex than that usually portrayed by enemy-alien status; the information on their military role, which represents Kaye's best research in the volume, is especially valuable in this regard. From the perspective of Ukrainian-Canadian history, the material on Ukrainian participation in the CEF focuses attention on a traditionally neglected phenomenon — the comparatively small Ukrainian immigration from the Russian Empire at the turn of the century.

Frances Swyripa
University of Alberta

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ENCYCLOPEDIA OF UKRAINE
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Edited by Volodymyr Kubijovyč
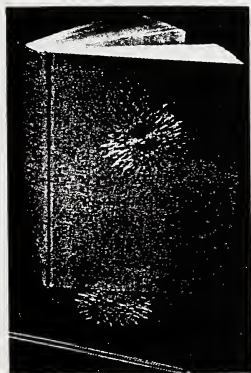
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Ivan Maistrenko

Ivan Maistrenko died in 1984 at the age o
85. He was perhaps the "last Mohican" of
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active role in the national-liberation strugg
in Ukraine during the 1917–1920 revoluti
Throughout the 1920s Maistrenko
participated in various "national communi
political currents and in the Ukrainization
process. In the 1930s he was caught in the
wave of purges and spent five years in
Stalin's labour camps. During the Second
World War he was administrator of the
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persecution at the hands of the Nazis. His
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David Saunders

NEW

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David Saunders is lecturer in history at the University of Newcastle upon Tyne, England.

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б — b	й — i	х — kh			
в — v	к — k	ц — ts			
г — h	л — l	ч — ch			
ґ — g	м — m	ш — sh			
д — d	н — n	щ — shch			
е — e	о — o	ю — iu			
є — ie	п — p	я — ia			
ж — zh	р — r	ь — -			
з — z	с — s	-ий — y in endings			
и — y	т — t	of personal			
і — i	у — u	names only			